BEST: Maori Religion and Mythology

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BULLETIN No. 10.

MAORI RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY,

BEING

An Account of the Cosmogony, Anthropogeny, Religious Beliefs and Rites, Magic and Folk Lore of the Maori Folk of New Zealand.

SECTION I.

By ELSDON BEST.

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PREFACE.

THE subject of this Bulletin is one that embraces many forms of Maori belief, from the highest to the lowest phases thereof. In Maori cosmogony, anthropogeny, and the conceptions of the Supreme Being and the Universal Soul in nature, we observe the most exalted aspects of the results of introspective thought on the part of a barbaric people. In the lower phases of their religious beliefs and practices, in their system of magic and their puerile superstitions, we note the shackles that have bound and cramped the human mind for countless centuries.

The material collected for this paper is somewhat voluminous, hence it has been found necessary to produce it in two sections. At the same time, it has not been deemed necessary to republish herein many native traditions and myths that have already appeared in the works of Sir George Grey, Mr. John White, the Rev. R. Taylor, and other writers.

In the higher forms of myth and of spiritual concepts we may observe the finest evidence of the mentality of the Maori, of his mythopoetic faculty, of his endeavours to grasp the origin of the universe and of life. The data collected provides a considerable amount of evidence highly illustrative of the development of religion and of social usages, such matter as is ever welcomed by anthropologists.

The second section of this number will include a description of Maori magic, as also many illustrations of native myths and folk-tales.

ELSDON BEST.

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MUSEUM BULLETIN No. 10

Maori Religion and Mythology.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: THE DEFINITION, ORIGIN, AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION.

CONTENTS.

Maori religious beliefs, &c., little known. Work of earlier writers. Barbaric man is naturally religious. Myth and religion. Ritual formulae. Magic. Ramifications of Maori religious beliefs. Difficulty of obtaining an insight into religious beliefs of barbaric man. Max Muller's dictum. Definition of religion. Remarks of Lubbock, of Marett, of Jevons, of Lang, Bancroft, Arago, Quatrefages, Carpenter, Baring Gould, Speck, Grant Allen, Tylor, Wohlers, Clodd, and others. Evidence concerning religions of lower races. Are there peoples devoid of religion? Religions of lower races despised. Tylor sees the light. Lord Avebury's sweeping statements. Tylor takes an opposite view. Origin of religion. Public opinion a powerful force. Morality and religion. Reason and religion. Fear did not produce the concept of Io. One religion built upon another. Religions change. How a religion may decline. Survivals of paganism in Christianity. "It is wicked to point at the sun." Signs of decay in civilization. Far-reaching powers of religion, and of superstition. Stages of religious development. Maori religion in an interesting stage. The study of causality led to the discovery of God.

THE subject of the religion of the Maori folk of New Zealand prior to the arrival of Europeans is one of which little is known, owing to the fact that no monograph on the subject has been published. Brief notices, and chapters, that have appeared in various works on the Maori are quite inadequate, and do not present to the reader a complete account of Maori beliefs and practices, or even include any clear description of the various grades of supernatural beings, and the different phases of culture noticeable in the Maori commune.

In the Rev. R. Taylor's work *Te Ika a Maui*, of 713 pages (2nd ed., 1870), we find a chapter of nine pages headed "Religion," and fully half of these pages consists of extraneous matter and general remarks. The balance consists of remarks on native myths, some casual data concerning omens, shamanistic rites, and the lower class of gods. Buller's *Forty Years in New Zealand* has a four-and-a-half-page chapter on the subject, which commences by stating that the Maori had no religion, then gives a few notes on native gods and priests. Yate gives some sporadic descriptions of certain Maori beliefs and institutions, such as *tapu*; while Polack makes some desultory and often unreliable remarks on similar matters. The earlier writers on the Maori, and most of the later ones, have certainly not understood the subject of his religion, or possessed any insight into his peculiar mentality and spiritual conceptions. Shortland broke out the trail

leading to better work, and, so far as he went, gave us a good foundation to work on. Tregear's *Maori Race* has a chapter of forty-seven pages on religion and cosmogony, which presents in abbreviated form much of the data previously collected, with remarks on the Maori concept of a Supreme Being, as also the cosmogonic myths and mythopoetic narrations. The third volume of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* contains the only detailed account of native belief in a Supreme Being; and the *Journal* of that society will prove to be the richest mine for students of the future who wish to study Maori ethnography. It seems desirable that some connected account of Maori religion should be put on record, inasmuch as it was blended with myth and magic to a remarkable extent, and also affected social usages in a peculiar manner.

It is quite clear that many inferior peoples are much more religious, as we term it, than is civilized man. The former have a greater fear of supernatural powers, and their very ignorance of natural laws, and superstitions concerning natural phenomena, &c., force them to rely on their gods—that is to say, on religion—to a much greater extent than does civilized man. Our knowledge, incomplete as it is, of natural laws and phenomena, of mechanics and other matters, tends to render us more independent of religion, and to destroy faith in old superstitions. In the case of many such inferior peoples we must admit that they feel the need of religion more than we do. The state in which we ourselves are now living, in which many persons pay no attention whatever to religion, would have been quite impossible among the Maori folk.

To draw a dividing-line between myth and religion in any account of Maori life is utterly impossible, so intermingled are the two. Moreover, there exists a difficulty in regard to the definition of certain native beliefs. Though the Maori had evolved or retained a belief in a Supreme Being, doubtless many would style that being a myth because he bears a different name to that employed in Christian belief. The ritual pertaining to native gods would not be described as "prayers" by us, because, in most cases, no supplication appears therein, no benefit or boon is directly asked for, and no act of mercy craved; they resemble the incantatory formulae employed by early denizens of Egypt. Though lacking any form of regular or public worship, yet the Maori believed in supernatural powers, whose aid he invoked in his peculiar way, without making any direct appeal. He believed in the survival of the soul of man after the death of its physical basis, and in the continued existence of this ghost in the spirit-world; hence we must admit that he possessed a religion, or at least religious beliefs.

Albeit the higher form of Maori religion, the cult of Io, seems to have been free of magic arts, yet its lower forms dealt largely with such shamanistic activities. The lower orders of the priesthood practised the arts of black magic, as well as such white magic as influencing the elements, of which latter art our praying for rain is a survival. Other survivals of bygone savagery still noted among us are seen in amazing cures of "incurable" diseases, and marvellous restorations to health of certain true believers vouchsafed the glorious privilege of gazing upon the bones or toe-nails of some unwashed eccentric of former days.

The principles and precepts of Maori religion impinged upon social and industrial life in many ways. They practically usurped the place of civil law, and entered in some way into every industry in the Maori commune. Agriculture and war, fishing and fowling, house-building, canoe-making and weaving, fire-kindling and navigation, into all these and other activities some phase or tenets of religion entered.

The subject of the religion of uncultured folk is not an easy one to handle, and correct information in regard to it is by no means easily obtained. So far as their technology is concerned no great difficulty is experienced in acquiring a correct knowledge of the same, except in regard to any religious ritual that might pertain to it, as in the case of agriculture, for example. In the collection of myths and folk-tales the inquirer again treads a fairly smooth road, though in the higher-class myths it may be extremely

difficult to acquire the sacerdotal or inner meanings thereof as retained by the initiated. But when your field-working ethnographer essays to peer into the religion of these barbaric folk, he follows a hard path and needs a divine patience. Here he encounters prejudice, conservatism, suspicion, and resentment. No traveller, or he of short sojourns, may delve into the esoteric knowledge, the inner strata of the mentality of barbaric man; his tools will be blunted, delve he never so bravely; his vision will fail to pierce the barriers erected by a vigilant and distrustful people. Neolithic man ever closely guards his true religion, his venerated ritual, his inner mentality, from the inquisitive gaze and analytical probing of inquiring outsiders. In order to open the pages of the inner life and thought of such folk it is highly necessary to gain their confidence. A long residence in their midst, a good knowledge of their language, suppression of one's own opinions and beliefs, a quiet and non-critical bearing, a heartfelt sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the people—these are all necessary to the inquirer. Such a person will, after long years of probation and close scrutiny by conservative record-keepers, be admitted to the confidence of some old adept or warlock, and then his opportunity has come at last. With serious mien he listens to puerile tales and wild myths, with reverent demeanour to ritual formulae and miraculous occurrences. He enters into the mental plane of his teachers; he looks upon the old Earth Mother with new understanding and kindly greeting; he feels within him the various spiritual potentiae of man, where formerly a lone spirit held sway; he watches his own soul fare out upon the gleaming path of Tane, across the restless breast of the Ocean Maid, and follow the setting sun down the long descent to the spirit-world, where the erst Dawn Maid welcomes it and protects it from dread Whiro.

Apart from the intensely conservative attitude of folk in the lower stages of human culture, there is ever a keen dread of ridicule. Such a people as the Maori feels ridicule much more keenly than anger, and this feeling leads to concealment, and, necessarily, to very erroneous statements concerning the religion of such folk.

In his work on *Anthropological Religion* Max Muller makes some sagacious remarks on the collection of anthropological evidence: "That no one in future is to be quoted as an authority on savage races who has not been an eye-witness, and has proved himself free from the prejudices of race and religion. But even to have been an eye-witness does not suffice." (This latter remark he illustrates by means of reference to a certain massacre mentioned in the 32nd chapter of Exodus.) He continues: "It was therefore necessary to lay down a second principle—namely, that no one is in future to be quoted as an authority on the customs, traditions, and, more particularly, on the religious ideas of uncivilized races who has not acquired an acquaintance with their language sufficient to enable him to converse with them freely on these difficult subjects. No true scholar requires any proof in support of these two demands." These remarks are undoubtedly sound, though unfortunately we do not live up to them.

Definition of Religion.

Inasmuch as some writers on the Maori folk have stated that they had no religion —for example, Buller and Colenso—it behoves us to make some brief inquiry as to what constitutes religion, for even our most eminent anthropological writers do not agree on this subject. The following are definitions given in the new *Oxford Dictionary*:— "Religion: Action or conduct indicating a belief in, reverence for, and desire to please a divine ruling power; the exercise or practice of rites or observances implying this." And again: "Recognition on the part of man of some higher unseen power as having control of his destiny, and as being entitled to obedience, reverence, and worship; the general mental and moral attitude resulting from this belief, with reference to its effect upon the individual or the community; personal or general acceptance of this feeling as a standard of spiritual and practical life." We will now note some definitions as

given by anthropologists. Clodd remarks that there are said to be ten thousand definitions of religion, but we do not aspire to that number. Tylor reduced them to one, and claimed that a belief in spiritual beings betokened religion. He points out that some writers admit nothing as religion "short of the organized and established theology of the higher races," and shows that others have denied that certain tribes or peoples had a religion, and then gone on to prove that they did possess one. This reminds one of Buller's *Forty Years in New Zealand*, in which he states that the Maori had no religion, and then proceeds to say that they believed in the continued life of the soul after the death of the body, and its sojourn in the spirit-world, that offerings were made to gods, and that a priesthood was maintained.

A famed anthropologist, Sir John Lubbock (later Lord Avebury) strikes a different note. He denies that the sensation of fear and the recognition of other beings more powerful than ourselves constitute religion. He denies any religion to the Australian natives, and seems to believe that the religion of the Samoans has been developed since Missionary Williams visited them, because he supposed that they possessed none. This theory is assuredly a wrong one. Of the Greeks and Romans he says: "Theirs was a true religion because they had prayers, sacrifices, temples, and priests." Elsewhere, however, he writes concerning the lowest races: "Religion is not with them a deep feeling of the soul, but a profound fear of some immediate evil, a desire for some immediate good." Altogether this writer does not admit as religion the simpler forms met with among races in a low state of culture. His attitude towards the Maori is not clear, but of the four institutions he mentions the Maori possessed two (sacrifices and priests), though he had no temples, and his ritual formulae were not true prayers.

R. R. Marett, in his *Anthropology*, remarks: "Now, the trouble with anthropologists is to find a working definition of religion on which they can agree." He explains how some draw the line between religion and magic — that is, between control and conciliation of gods, the former being magic and the latter religion. This definition he objects to on the ground that the two phases or practices overlap, as they assuredly do. He claims that magic and religion belong to the same department of human experience; that they represent two ways of dealing with the supernormal. Witchcraft he brands as genuine magic, black magic. "On the other hand, every primitive society also distinguishes certain salutary ways of dealing with supernormal powers. All these ways taken together constitute religion." Again, he remarks, "Religion is the facing of the unknown."

F. B. Jevons, in his *Comparative Religion*, writes as follows: "The relation of men to their gods, which everywhere is what is implied by religion, is one which is interpreted and is in practice worked out in a different way in every different form of religion. The different forms of religion might even be said to be the different ways in which the relationship is acted on."

Andrew Lang remarks that there is no accepted definition of religion, and refrains from giving one, as it would not be accepted by all. He does say that all propitiation of spirits is religious, as also all worship of spiritual gods, and belief in a superior or Supreme Being. Grant Allen seems to define religion as offerings and prayers to gods.

In writing of mythology, Bancroft remarks: "As made up of legendary accounts of places and personages, it is history; as relating to the genesis of the gods, the nature and adventures of divinities, it is religion." This writer believes that all myths, however puerile or absurd, are founded on fact.

In Arago's account of Freycinet's voyage the following passage occurs in the description of a sojourn at the Sandwich Isles: "I have in vain searched for a religion in this archipelago. I have found priests, consecrated places, and idols, but I have seen no form of worship." Probably this writer demanded a regular system of public worship in all religions. His estimate was quite wrong.

Quatrefages tells us that the two following formulae sum up all the doctrines and all the dogmas of the great religions: (1) Belief in beings superior to man, with power over his destiny for good or for evil; (2) belief in an after-life, a future beyond the grave. He remarks: "Every people, every man who believes in these two things is religious, and observation is ever increasing the number of proofs of the universality of this character." This definition would undoubtedly include the beliefs and practices of many of the lower races, including the Polynesian, as well as the "great religions."

Carpenter remarks that certain primitive peoples have been said to be destitute of religion because they had no Father in heaven and no everlasting hell, and adds, "These attitudes, it is now freely recognized, are not scientific."

Baring Gould maintains that "There is not a people at a low stage of mental and moral development among which this phase of religion [shamanism, demonology, fetishism] is not found; before the spirit-world coagulates into distinct beings the rudiments of a theology appear, the priesthood emerges as a caste, and worship is fixed in ceremonial observance."

Dieffenbach gives us the following dictum: "If we take religion in its common meaning as a definable system of certain dogmas and prescriptions, the New-Zealanders have no religion. Their belief in the supernatural is confined to the action and influence of spirits on the destiny of men, mixed up with fables and traditions."

"Magic is not only not religion, but the very opposite of religion," writes Lord Avebury. This writer maintained that, in many cases, the ceremonial performances of savages are in no way of a religious character. "They contain no prayers or confessions, no offerings or sacrifices, no appeal for help or forgiveness to any superior power. They are gone through as immemorial customs, and when any meaning is attached to them it is as a form of magic, an attempt to control nature and secure material advantages." Again he does not look upon a belief in the survival of the soul after death as an evidence of religion.

The fact is we hold different views on this subject, hence we are writing at cross purposes, and no satisfactory conclusion can be come to until we agree as to what constitutes religion.

In his lecture on "Primitive Religion" Mr. F. G. Speck commences with this statement: "Before undertaking the study, brief as it may be, of primitive religions, or, more exactly, the religions of primitive man, we must accept the broadest conceivable definition of the term, one which defines religion as that which expresses in life the relationship between man and the supernatural realm. We need a definition of this broad character if we intend to analyse and discuss the various types of philosophy, the rites of worship, and the beliefs expressing the interactivity between man and the supernatural beings, which play such an important part in the mental life of so-called savages."

In his work on *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion* Lord Avebury remarks: "Religion is the submission of man to God; fetichism is the attempt to subject God to man." This writer maintains that there is nothing in common between magic and religion; that the priest and wizard were enemies; that a people must recognize a Supreme Being, and be in the habit of worshipping that being, ere such people can be said to possess a religion.

The fact is there is a wide difference of opinion as to what constitutes religion, and this is, apparently, one of the two great causes of disagreement among writers as to whether or not certain peoples possess a religion, or any notion of it. The above writer evidently holds that superstitious observances have nothing to do with religion, but those persons who argue on these lines seem to forget that superstition enters into all religions, even the highest.

The other cause of disagreement consists of the widely differing qualifications of writers on this subject. Some judge from hearsay evidence, some from a slight knowledge

of peoples under discussion, while yet others deem it necessary to dwell many years among a people, and to have a thorough knowledge of the language thereof, ere any opinion can be formed. Again, some collectors of such data are unbiased, and others prejudiced.

The Rev. R. Taylor informs us that the Maori was a devil-worshipper; but as to whether the worship of that worthy constitutes a religion or not the present writer declines to express an opinion.

Grant Allen remarks that mythology is composed of tales and legends about gods, while religion consists of offerings and prayers, or some less direct ritual, to gods, there being but little connection between the two. He omits to note that what is one man's god is another man's myth; that the sacred belief of one people is deemed a gross superstition by another. For this and several other reasons we cannot separate myth from religion when explaining Maori beliefs.

Tylor notes that some narrow definitions of religion have the fault of identifying religion rather with particular developments than with the deeper motives which underlie them. He here refers to such definitions as require the belief in a Supreme Deity, or of judgment after death, or the practice of sacrifice, or some other partially diffused doctrine or rite. Hence he relies on what he calls the minimum definition of religion and its essential source—namely, the belief in spiritual beings.

In his paper on "Maori Traditions" the Rev. Mr. Wohlers says: "By religion we understand a feeling of dependency in the human mind, in the consciousness of its own weakness, on a higher being or beings; which beings are therefore feared and worshipped."

Mr. Clodd tells us that religion was born of the emotions, and was before all theologies, which are but concrete and partial aspects of it. Religion is fundamental, and manifests itself in all creeds; it is the abiding element, for no religion lies in utter isolation from the rest. Again, he remarks: "The essence of religion is in the doctrine of spirits, beings of unknown and therefore of dreaded potency, the force of which has declined as knowledge has advanced." Anent the statement of Hobbs that "the feare of things invisible is the naturall Seed of Religion," he says: "In the degree that anything is unknown it remains a source of dread, and therefore of evil, since from 'feare of the invisible' spring the feelings of inferiority, helplessness, and dependence which man's surroundings quicken, and which are the raw material of theologies and rituals." This writer upholds the theory that the first phase of religion or of its origin was antecedent to animism, and terms that early stage "naturalism," wherein primitive man believed that things lived because of their own proper powers, or because of self-power, the belief in indwelling spirits coming later, as also that of surroundings as natural and supernatural. The feeling of fear that lies at the roots of primitive religions he shows is shared by the lower animals, and comments on the connection between animal and human psychology. It is thus that he traces "the lines along which man advanced from conceptions of powers to conceptions of spirits . . . in whose activities he explained the creation of the heavens and the earth."

R. R. Marett, in his *Anthropology*, claims that the essentials of religion are present in the apparently godless observances of the ruder peoples; that they appeal to the imagination, which is the impulse that presides over all progress. He holds that the rude ceremonial performances practised by savages to ensure, say, luck in hunting are prompted and pervaded by feelings that, later, develop into sacrifice, prayer, &c. "They bring to bear on the need of the hour all the promise of that miraculous past which not only cradled the race, but still yields it the stock of reincarnated soul-force that enables it to survive." He lays particular stress on the close interdependence between religion and custom in primitive society.

In his *Primitive Ritual and Belief* Mr. E. O. James draws our attention to the fact that false conclusions may easily follow in the wake of the comparative method, and that some of our leading anthropologists have erred in deducing laws of primitive logic from the evidence of savage beliefs and rites. Mr. James looks upon religion as being, like

civilization, a product of evolution, or as a search after the unknown and the infinite. He makes religion a matter of evolution from the vague and crude beliefs, superstitions, and practices of savages, to result eventually in modern Christianity. He remarks: "Savage religion chiefly consists of the system of rites resorted to by the community against real and imaginary dangers."

The same writer states that, among the lower races, religion is more a matter of practice than theory, of action than thought. Therefore, among them, ritual is more complex than belief, and our worthy savage does not so much think out the meaning and effect of each ritual performance as he has confidence in the general effect of such ceremonial. This attitude is really on a level with that assumed in the recital of charms such as the *karakia* of the Maori, and those of the ancient Egyptians.

The same writer remarks, in his *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, that "with uncivilized man the magico-religious side of his nature is always uppermost." It is prominent not only in the important affairs of his life but also in his daily tasks. "He is always seeking to control the processes of nature by magical or religious means. Since the distinction between magic and religion merely lies in the notion of the controlling force, it will be readily seen how impossible it is to separate stratigraphically these two attitudes of mind in primitive man."

In view of the many definitions of religion laid down by prominent anthropologists and other writers, and bearing in mind the diversity of opinion among other specialists, it seems desirable to let a description of Maori beliefs and practices speak for itself, ever bearing in mind the definitions quoted from the *Oxford Dictionary*.

Evidence concerning Religions of Lower Races.

We have seen that some writers have denied the existence of religion among certain races or tribes, and this denial has not been confined to savages, but has also been applied to barbaric peoples well advanced in the science of agriculture, such as the Samoans and the Maori of New Zealand. A careful examination of the evidence shows us that everything depends upon the point of view, which hinges upon the mentality and enlightenment of the observer, his possession or otherwise of the critical faculty, his prejudices, and the length and nature of his sojourn among the people under discussion, apart from the subject of the definition of religion already dealt with. The range of difference in opinion is somewhat startling, extending as it does from the viewing of a primitive form of animism and fear of ill-defined supernatural beings as religion, to the famed parson of the eighteenth century who recognized no religion outside the Church of England. A much more chastened form of narrow-mindedness than the last mentioned has led to the denial of religion among barbaric peoples, and missionaries have, in the past, been specially liable to this error. The Rev. J. Buller stated that the Maori had no religion, while the Rev. R. Taylor maintained that he was a devil-worshipper; but neither had any true knowledge of native beliefs. That road was closed to them for two reasons: the white man did not want to learn, the brown man had no desire to teach him.

The difficulties encountered in any attempt to understand the religion and mentality of the lower races are not grasped by many people, including some famous writers on anthropological matters. Some travellers have recognized their inability to collect precise or reliable information during a brief sojourn among such folk; others have a sublime confidence in their own powers of discernment and analysis; yet others would never become reliable collectors of ethnographic data—indeed, the writer has slowly arrived at the conclusion that but few persons are really fitted for the task, simple though it may appear.

In speaking of the religion of the Tahitians Cook writes: "Of the religion of these people we were not able to acquire any clear and consistent knowledge; we found it, like the religion of most other countries, involved in mystery and perplexed with apparent

inconsistencies." Again, he remarked that but few of the common people of Tahiti seemed to know much about their religious system, such knowledge being confined to the priests. Now, not only was Cook ignorant of the native tongue, but, had it been otherwise, he would have gained but little insight into native beliefs and religious practices, though even the common people possessed much curious and interesting information.

Elkington, author of *The Savage South Seas*, is one of the few writers who admit the difficulties alluded to above. The inconsistencies of haphazard information puzzle him; thus he writes of the Solomon-Islanders, "They believe that the Supreme Spirit is the embodiment of good, and yet in the same breath they will tell you that he becomes angry and needs that his anger should be appeased by incantations or the sacrifice of human beings." This writer need not have voyaged to the far Solomons to discover such inconsistencies; he might have studied his Bible.

Max Muller has said, "Without knowing anything of other religions, and long before they attempt any serious study of them, most people despise them, ridicule them, and condemn them." Some further remarks by the same writer are also well worth perusal: "When we come to the religion of so-called savages, the general feeling seems to be that their religion is no religion at all, but mere fetishism, totemism, spiritism, and all the rest. Much as I am interested in the so-called book-religions of the world, it has always seemed to me one of the most valuable results of a comparative study of all religions that behind these mere outworks of the religions of so-called savages, whether we call them fetishism, totemism, or spiritism, there has been discovered almost always the real and indestructible stronghold of all religion, a belief in God as the Father and Ruler of the world."

Professor Tylor spoke wisely when he said, "It always happens in the study of the lower races that the more means we have of understanding their thoughts, the more sense and reason do we find in them." This sapient remark well illustrates our experience in studying Maori religion and mythology. This writer has also done yeoman service in drawing attention to the advantages of corroboration when collecting data from savage or barbaric people. He might have gone a step further and emphasized the absolute necessity of corroboration in many cases. Again, the quality of verisimilitude may stand the collector in good stead; for instance, no local student of Maori technology would waste time in searching for evidences or remains of prehistoric pottery in New Zealand, when knowing that no such remains have ever been found here.

In his work on *Man: Where, Whence, and Whither*, David Page quotes Sir S. Baker's remark concerning a negro chief of the Upper Nile region, "one of the most active and intelligent of the chiefs," as follows: "In this naked savage there was not even a superstition upon which to found a religious feeling; there was a belief in matter, and to his understanding everything was material." This statement can only be classed as an absurdity; that a "naked savage" who is "one of the most intelligent" of a tribe should not possess even a superstition is about the last word in irrational utterances.

Lord Avebury bases his opinion that the lowest races have no religion on the evidence of "sailors, traders, and philosophers, Roman Catholic priests, and Protestant missionaries." The evidence of missionaries on the subject of other and lower types of religion is as a rule scanty and often untrustworthy, though some have done good work in collecting information as to the technology, &c., of native races. Sailors are certainly not in a position to obtain reliable data. Traders may have a better opportunity, if resident among such tribes; while philosophers in new or wild lands are assuredly few and far between. The above writer maintains that the beliefs and practices of the lowest races represent superstition, not religion; the deities are evil, not good—they are mortal, and require bloody sacrifices, often human sacrifice; in

short, the whole is of this world, not of the next. Now, in the first place, we know that superstitions enter into all religions, even the most advanced, and the gods of lower races have two aspects in many cases: they are helpful and protective if properly conciliated, but terrible and punitive if neglected, or insulted by some offence, such as infringement of the laws of *tapu*. As for being mortal, in many cases they are not so, but here again it depends on the point of view. The gods of a people of high culture may disappear or be forgotten: where now are Osiris and Merodach? Human and other sacrifices are continued far up the scale, and worthy Jephthah was saturated with superstition when he essayed to cut his daughter's throat to please the Lord. Many, if not all, of these savages believe in the life of the spirit after the death of the body, and we await proof that they have no belief in a spirit-world. It can also be shown that peoples of low culture may believe in the existence of both good and evil gods, though the former are not so persistently placated, perhaps not at all, because they are not malignant. This writer also stresses the fact that the spirit-world of lower races is merely a better earth, not a heaven; that their ghosts are mortal (whatever that may mean), and that the religious theories of savages are rarely if ever the result of deep thought. Max Muller has shown, in his *Anthropological Religion*, that he did not believe there exists a people with no form of religion.

Tylor holds that the existence of peoples destitute of religion is not proven, and comments on the paucity of reliable information concerning such folk referred to by some writers. He goes on to quote a number of cases in which so-called religionless tribes have been shown to possess a system of beliefs and practices, occasionally by the very men who denied the existence of such. Another excellent remark refers to the fact that many persons so heartily despise all inferior faiths that they decline to study or even recognize them. Marett has truly said that at first sight one is apt to see nothing but absurdities in savage custom and religion; but he came to the conclusion that any and every custom, in so far as it is regarded as lucky, is a religious rite. By "luck" he seems to imply the sacred customs so affected by imagination as to become the sole source of confidence. His final assumption is that, with all its drawbacks, the religion of a human society, if the latter be a going concern, is always something to be respected. Quite so; for it enters into all departments of activity among lower races, and often is the principal cohesive agent. Above all, this writer enlarges on the necessity for a thorough knowledge of the language of the savage or barbarian, and for gaining his confidence, ere attempting to study and explain his mentality. Such a worker, if possessed of the necessary qualities, may yet cast light on certain customs or beliefs unexplainable by those who practise them, and show us how all religious systems are linked together along certain lines.

Origin of Religion.

Concerning the origin of religion there is little to be said in this paper. Many assert that all religion originated in fear—fear of the forces of nature, fear of unseen demons, fear of the unknown. Others urge that fear was the origin of demonology only—that religion sprang from minds of a higher nature. There can be little doubt but that superstitions originated in fear, and, to a great extent, religions seem to have been developed from superstitions; then, as a religion gradually assumed a higher and more intellectual phase, other and more refined influences were recognized and accepted, thus introducing into the cultus of the people spiritual ideas of a much more advanced nature.

As to the particular stage of development during which morality and religion were combined, it is not easy to form an opinion. We believe that the beginning of such a union can be seen in two aspects of Maori religion—viz., in the cult of Io, and in the curious beliefs pertaining to certain rites, such as those performed over men about

to tread the trail of war. We know that Christianity was a highly moral religion in its younger days; that in after-times, at certain places, it was very much the reverse, and also that for generations past it has gradually been sloughing off the unwholesome accretion accumulated during the dark time of Europe. The fact that such purifying processes have invariably originated in public opinion, and not in a voluntary mandate from the priesthood, stands as a token of how religions are developed. A people evolves its own form of religion, the form that suits it. If one of too high a type is forced upon it, that cult will be degraded to the mental plane of such people; should the mentality of the people advance beyond the plane of that religion, then it will either be altered accordingly or abandoned for some higher form. You cannot force a people abruptly into a higher state of culture, moral, spiritual, and intellectual, by thrusting a higher type of religion on to them. Of this we have many examples before our own eyes—eyes that too often cannot see. This is an error that has marked many missionary ventures among uncivilized races. A great deal of good has been effected by missionaries throughout the Pacific, but they cannot change the nature of the people they teach, they cannot abruptly force the natives into a higher culture plane; it is a foregone conclusion, an age-old law of nature against which man strives in vain.

Some idealists have contended that all sense of morality has emanated from religion, but omit to note that the low forms of religion have no connection with morality, the latter being the result of public opinion. This is well illustrated in Maori social life. Such are the lessons we learn by a study of natural religion, as opposed to the claims of revealed religion. In his work on the Malay Archipelago Wallace expresses the opinion that civilized man has not progressed so much in morals as he has in intellectual development. Lord Avebury objects to this view, and holds that man "has perhaps made more progress in moral than in either material or intellectual advancement." He admits that savages may possess many material and intellectual attainments, but it seems to him that they are entirely wanting in moral feeling. This seems to be somewhat hard on the hapless savage, and is probably untrue; but as the present writer has no intimate knowledge of any savage folk, he declines to do more than express the opinion that most savages have evolved, and uphold, certain rules of morality, as appears in the evidence collected. That a barbaric folk such as the Maori possesses moral laws is certain to those who study them closely. It may here be noted that, in an appendix to his *Origin of Civilization* (1912 edition), Lord Avebury seems to qualify the above assertion somewhat when he says, "the fair inference seems to be that savages are more innocent, and yet more criminal, than civilized races; they are by no means in the lowest possible moral condition, nor are they capable of the higher virtues."

Samuel Laing held that the element of morality was one of the latest to appear in religion, and draws attention to the development of morality noticeable in the Bible. P. G. Hamerton, in his work *The Intellectual Life*, explains that morality and philosophy cannot supply the place of religion; that intellectual religion is simply intellectual morality, "not religion in the sense which all humanity has attached to religion during all the ages that have preceded ours." He seems to show that such a purely intellectual cult is cold and lifeless, as it lacks any form of emotionalism and spiritual animation. Grant Allen states that the ethical element is not essential to religion, and that the philosophical element, theology or mythology, occupies much the same position—their origins are different, their union is adventitious. He also remarks that no such condition as a really primitive religion now exists; that the lowest forms of belief have hundreds of thousands of years behind them.

Professor Tylor tells us that the religion of low races is not immoral but unmoral; a code of morality exists, but it is not connected with religion, showing that morality is not necessary to natural religion. A peculiar atavic phase is often noted in the highest forms of religion, wherein individuals are emphatically religious in attendance to forms

and observances, but at the same time remarkably immoral. The present writer has frequently noted this characteristic among the priesthood of Spanish-American lands.

The Maori institutions of *tapu* and *muru* were undoubtedly connected with morality—that is to say, they were important deterrent forces, as will appear later.

We have been told that "all religion is the daughter of fear and ignorance, and consists in adoration of the unknown" (Vogt, quoted by Quatrefages). It is not only improbable that such a conception as that of Io and his attributes sprang from fear and ignorance, but we are also prepared to maintain that no people whose religious feelings are based on fear and ignorance would adore the unknown, or anything else. No Maori ever adored the gods he dreaded—he placated them; and if worship means ceremonial performances, as it assuredly seems to with some folk, then he may be said to have worshipped his gods of lower order, but adoration or love for such beings was utterly unknown to him, and indeed impossible.

We may note certain inconsistencies in our higher cults of to-day—teachings concerning a loving and ever-merciful Deity, and warnings of a vengeful Judge who condemns erring man to agonies unspeakable. But, even in my own span of life, public opinion has, among the more enlightened sects, much reduced the temperature of the burning lake that served to terrorize our forbears.

Baring Gould has wisely remarked: "The function of reason in religion is to act as the balance-wheel of the spirit. Reason is not the mainspring, not the motive power of religion: it is its controlling, moderating faculty." In his remarks on "strange survivals" this writer clearly recognizes that religion, even in its highest forms, is rooted in superstition; that all religions have been evolved from gross superstitions and practices of savagery. In writing of Hobbes, the English rationalist, J. B. Bury says: "What he really thought of religion could be inferred from his remark that the fanciful fear of things invisible (due to ignorance) is the natural seed of that feeling which, in himself, a man calls religion, but in those who fear or worship the invisible power differently, superstition." Baring Gould further tells us that, among primitive folk, "the idea of an all-pervading spirit is inchoate." Quite possibly it is, and among barbaric races we often find this belief illustrated in a very peculiar manner. In this wise: the upper class of the priesthood proclaim the names, attributes, and functions of a number of gods, with instructions as to worship, offerings, and other observances to be kept or practised by the people. These gods are accepted by the common people—that is, by the great majority of the nation—as so many distinct and separate gods, whereas the esoteric teaching and inner belief show that they are merely different names for one god, and illustrate his various aspects, functions, and manifestations. This peculiar arrangement is most noticeable in the cults of ancient Egypt and Chaldea, while we shall see that something of the same nature obtained among our Maori folk of New Zealand.

Mr. H. G. F. Spurrell, in his remarkable work on *Modern Man and his Forerunners*, remarks that "Religion grew out of the constant mystification of early members of the human groups before the phenomena of nature, and is a deep-rooted instinct in man." Spencer held that all religion sprang from ancestor-worship. Other writers trace it to this or that cause, but Max Muller claims a multiple origin for all religion.

In Carpenter's *Comparative Religion* we read that "Among the factors of early religious life will be found the beginnings of wonder, reverence, and awe." Naturally this would be so, so far as those emotions are concerned, though possibly their beginnings may date from a time long anterior to the birth of religious feeling in man, and indeed be traced to the lower animals, even as the qualities of affection and loyalty can be. Many writers assign the origin of religion to fear—fear of natural phenomena, of the unknown; and a religion dominated by that emotion might certainly produce such a God as the Jehovah of the Old Testament, but it never produced Io, the Supreme God of the Maori. This latter conception is an advanced one, and can only have been evolved by means

of a long process of introspective and metaphysical thought. Possibly this high-class belief was a borrowed one, but if so it must have been so gained many centuries ago. We know that religions are formed largely by borrowing from other and older systems, as Christianity borrowed from Judaism and paganism, and the former from still older cults. This brings us to the recognition of a highly important fact, the relationship of religions to each other—the connecting-links that exist between high- and low-grade systems, and between those of a similar culture grade. True isolation in religion is unknown; a chain of connection runs through all, from the lowest to the highest; and herein lies the key to the great advantages to be derived from a study of comparative religion, as connected with, and illustrating, the marvellous history of the development of human culture.

It is also a recognized fact that religions change in course of time; moreover, that religions must change, or, as time wears on, become stale and unprofitable, or die out. Religion is an evolution, and in this brief axiom lies the kernel of the fruit of all our researches into the history of religious development. A religion is evolved or adapted, not discovered or invented. Timbers from former houses are ever taken to form a new structure. A superior religion may have little effect in lifting a people to a higher culture stage, but as a people advance in general culture, mental and otherwise, their religion must advance with them; it must be refined and elevated, or fall into desuetude, or be confined to an interested few, such as a priesthood. Samuel Laing, in his *Human Origins*, shows us how religious systems are developed from crude animistic concepts and malignant ghosts onward and upward until morals are combined with religion, and the priesthood devote much time to philosophical thought and research. Other writers, such as Tylor and Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) have treated the subject at greater length. We must also bear in mind that a nation as a whole must be prepared to accept, and be fitted for, a higher grade of religion ere it can be a living force among the people; the opinions or beliefs of a few advanced thinkers cannot cause the tree to flourish. And when the higher plane is reached by the majority of the nation, ever certain low-grade beliefs and practices will linger on as survivals of the former culture stage.

We are told by anthropologists that the element of morality is one of the latest to appear in religion, and we know, by studying Christianity during the Dark Age of Europe, how that element may be smothered by adverse influences. A study of the Bible will provide illustration of development of morality in religion, for we encounter therein a wide range of thought, from savage ritual and a God to whom blood offerings were sweet, to the Sermon on the Mount. Some writers state that all gods of lower savages are viewed as evil, malignant beings, though Andrew Lang seems to have thought otherwise. To Lord Avebury the gods of low races are never good; they are to be propitiated by sacrifices but not by prayer; they are not creators, and not omniscient. The present writer refrains from offering an opinion on this subject simply because he has not spent a lifetime among savages and is not qualified to speak decisively. But he does claim to have some knowledge of one barbaric people, the Maori, and of that one only, and will, in the pages that lie before, give some proof that the natives of these isles were beginning to recognize the want of the element of morality in their religion.

In any comments on degeneracy in religions it seems well to bear in mind that though religions may decline, or seem to perish, yet the new wave that carries us onward is composed to a considerable extent of the waters of the receding wave, albeit somewhat purified and improved. Marett maintains that religion has as many roots as human life and mentality. He classifies religions under two heads: (1) Mechanical and ineffective, (2) spiritual and effective. He also views magic as a congener of religion, both belonging to the same department of human experience, the supernormal

world, and concludes that magic includes all the bad ways and religion all the good ways of dealing with the supernormal—that is, bad and good from their point of view, not necessarily the same as ours. Religion, he remarks, contains comfort that produces courage in crises, and, psychologically regarded, "the function of religion is to restore men's confidence when it is shaken by crisis."

The evolution of all human culture is as a chain, and does not consist of disconnected or sporadic occurrences. "For one religion builds upon another," as Carpenter puts it. We know how this truism is illustrated in Christianity, which has borrowed from many sources; how pagan gods were admitted as saints, and pagan ceremonial incorporated; how the Egyptian Trinity, and Isis, the Divine Mother, with the infant Horus in her lap, reappeared in Christianity. We speak of the deification of ancestors as belonging to inferior religions, yet admit some twenty-five thousand, more or less, of such ancestors as saints in the Christian pantheon. These survivals of primitive thought are not always recognized as such, and when met with among other folk often create surprise. Many minds cannot grasp the fact that Christianity borrowed its myths, rites, and customs from semi-civilized folk who had inherited them from more barbarous peoples. The missionaries, when they encounter these superstitions, rites, &c., among such a folk as the Maori, often declare that such items were borrowed from Christianity, whereas the truth lies the other way round. The lower culture stages evolved these myths and practices, Christianity borrowed them ready-made.

It is of interest to note the curious survivals of primitive superstitions met with among ourselves. In a little work lately published, on life in New Zealand in the early days of the colony, the Rev. G. Clarke tells us that, in his childhood, a curious passage in one of the few books he had access to aroused his childish curiosity. The passage is as follows: "It is wicked to look at the sun, and to point at it with the finger." Here we have a survival of one of the oldest of superstitions, the belief that the sun is an animate and supernatural being; indeed, it may be termed a survival of sun-worship. Many writers have remarked on the tendency to anthropomorphism in the lower religions, but few seem to recognize the fact that it also enters largely into the superior religions. Moreover, we still, to some extent, keep alive the barbaric habit of personification, as shown in our use of the term "Brittania," "Peace," "Mercy," "Charity," &c. Thus we often note the curious fact of two forms of religion being practised by a people. These two phases may coalesce, or they may continue to exist side by side. The condition of two forms of religion existing among an otherwise homogeneous people is not by any means an unusual one. In speaking of the Greeks, Baring Gould says: "They had their temples, their priests, their mythology. But this was beyond the spiritual range of some, and these had recourse to the Goetoi, true shamans. . . These Goetoi were, in fact, the successors of the medicine-men of pre-historic Hellas." In some lands we may observe a peculiar condition of degeneration of a particular form of religion, and this is exemplified in the case of the Spanish-American countries. From observations made by the writer he is confident that modern Christianity is too advanced a religion to be grasped and practised by such a people as the Mexicans. Among such a folk a superior type of religion must degenerate. When the mentality of those people is so improved and refined as to call for a higher form of expression, then the change will come about by means of public opinion. The church—that is to say, the priesthood—does not lead in such matters; it is led. "Every great historical religion," says Carpenter, "passes through numerous phases, as it is brought into contact with different cultures, and evokes various forms of speculative thought and inward experience."

To those who have studied the history and vicissitudes of the better-known religions it becomes clear that a time comes in such a history when the religion becomes "stale"; when the life and vigour of former times seems to die out of it; when its followers

rely on the due performance of certain ritual, to the neglect of healthful morality and spiritual belief in higher forms of life.

In *Modern Man and his Forerunners* Mr. Spurrell remarks that "Religion, fundamentally necessary to national health, shows decay either by (*a*) over-refinement, (*b*) internal dissension, (*c*) degradation into magic, or (*d*) scepticism." Further on he writes: "The foundations of civilization have always depended upon religious organization; but with the continued growth of civilization the national religion decays. . . The tendency of groups of individuals to dissent from the religious life of the nation comes with the increasing individualism at a definite stage of national growth. . . In every great civilization, provided it lasts long enough, we see in the multiplication of religious noncomformists a symptom of its decay." This writer views the decline of national religions, as manifested at the present time, as an evidence of decay in the foundations of civilization. He also believes that other forms of decay are allied with it, such as the deterioration of social life, the shirking of duties and responsibilities, the craving for State aid, and other weaknesses of the present time.

Maning, in his *Old New Zealand*, says: "Laws, if not made, will grow"—a truly wise and epigrammatic remark. In like manner we may say, "Religion, if not borrowed, will be evolved"—that is to say, as a people advance in culture, and attain to a higher intellectual plane, so will their religion advance, or be discarded for a higher type. They must purify and improve their religion, or no longer have faith in it.

It is evident to observing and unbiased minds that Christianity is, at the present time, passing through a very curious and interesting phase of development. Many of the gross superstitions that were incorporated with it in former times have, by means of the power of public opinion, been rejected and cast aside. At one time the Christian priests of Europe loved to terrify us with hideous and abominable pictures of the tortures of hell as invented by that gentle fraternity. For long, weary centuries they held the dark pall over Europe, and taught us that woman is not a human creature, but a vile being sent into the world by the devil to tempt man. And what would human mentality be if we could adore the god of the Old Testament? Slowly but surely reason is asserting itself and is purifying a cultus that commenced life with fair promise but was gradually debased and degraded by an ignorant and superstitious priesthood.

Religion is recognized as an important phase of human culture. It is the expression of man's efforts to understand things, to seek the origin of the universe, of natural phenomena, of life; to find some power to afford him protection and help, and of man's desire to attain life beyond the grave. Religion has had a great effect on human mentality and the development of culture; such effects have been at times good, at others evil beyond words. It is one of the deepest-rooted feelings in human nature; hence the wild remarks sometimes heard anent the eradication of this feeling in man are scarce worthy of notice. Religion is here to stay; our manifest duty is to purify it.

In studying these beliefs of uncivilized man we must ever bear in mind his ignorance and his firm conservatism, as also the fact that among the conditions that prevailed it was extremely difficult for any person to break away on a new line of thought, or to institute any reform, simply because such reform meant change, which was objected to. Superstition and ignorance are serious drags on advancement, and, under certain circumstances, they may be exceedingly dangerous. When allied with bigotry anything may happen in the way of persecution.

A progressive form of religion appears to pass through three stages of development in regard to its outlook on other cults. In the more primitive phase—for example, in such a religion as that of the Maori—we note a "live and let live" attitude, a spirit of tolerance. But when a higher stage of development is reached, when a powerful priesthood exists, and a system of public worship is established, then persecution may appear and run its course, inaugurated by the priesthood. This phase is well illustrated

in the life-story of Christianity. The third stage is attained when public opinion gradually eliminates the priest-made feature of persecution, and the cultus swings back into the tolerance of the savage, which now assumes a more refined aspect. The history of Christianity is extremely interesting and enlightening, as illustrating this peculiar evolutionary process. Its mild tenets and practices during the early period of its career were remarkable, but after it escaped from persecution, and the priesthood gained power, this aspect gradually changed, until Europe was darkened by abominable persecution, chicanery, and ferocity. After long centuries of darkness the light of reason slowly dissipated the gloom of fanaticism and cruelty, public opinion gradually enforced reforms, and the light of tolerance appeared once more; but the end is not yet.

A dominant feature in higher forms of religion given to intolerance is the belief that its own followers alone are ensured a life of happiness in the spirit-world; the adherents of other creeds are supposed to be doomed to endless tortures in the next world. This highly objectionable belief is by no means eradicated among Christians, but is slowly being expunged. Daino has said, "We know what we have to destroy—namely, superstitious fear of the unknown; but we never can know what we can construct, seeing that social morality has to evolve and develop along with all other conditions of society." This fear of the unknown is largely replaced in Christianity by the fear of death—or, rather, of what follows death—and this fear has been implanted in us by truculent priesthoods of past centuries. The life after death can scarcely be said to be unknown if we believe the teachings of such gentry, for they ever dwelt lovingly on the horrors invented by themselves. The object of their ruthless behaviour was to gain and retain a close control of the people.

If we commence our study of Maori religion with the belief that religion is a matter of evolution we shall be enabled to note some interesting evidence in its tenets, and examine an inferior cult in a very peculiar stage of development. In his *Man before Metals* Joly remarks: "Revealed religion commands our faith and subjugates our reason." We have now to examine, not a dictated religion, but one in the process of making.

Uncivilized folk, such as our Maori, may not do any great amount of thinking, or purposely indulge in metaphysical studies, but they certainly feel human weakness and experience fear of supernormal powers. They seem to feel desire for some higher, or supernatural, power to protect them, a feeling common to all divisions of the human race. Such a feeling might be the origin of a belief in one deity, or more than one, but some such belief would be sure to result. After all, can it be wondered at that uncivilized man evolves a polytheistic cult, when we know he was brought into contact with many things and forces that he did not understand? Rather let us marvel that he ever achieved the concept of such a Supreme Being as Io, a being to whom no offerings were made, and whom it was not necessary to placate; who did not demand sacrifices of man or beast like unto the Semitic Deity, or condemn the souls of erring man to *post mortem* tortures.

Although, however, a certain type of religion, or belief in a certain type of gods, may have originated in fear of the unknown, it would appear improbable that the concept of such a deity as Io could have been so evolved. It appears more probable that such a state of mind would lead to a belief in a more austere, or even malignant, being, one that could, and must, be placated by divers means. The conception of Io must have resulted from a very different mental state. What was the nature of that state? Joly, of *Man before Metals* fame, seems to think that it was a study of causality that led to the discovery of God; that man, seeking the cause of innocuous phenomena, evolved the idea of a Great First Cause. Was there no other cause? Was no other trail of thought followed up by the men of yore? Have we the monopoly of the higher type of feelings, of the power to grasp the beauties and majesty of nature, the mysteries and

joys of life; the courage to thrust aside the veil and gaze upon the splendid sun; the intellectual yearning to know whence we came and whither we are bound? Who shall say that Christian mentality, that Christian eyes alone can see the truth, can grasp the belief in a Supreme power that evolved all universes, that always has, and ever will exist?

Delve into the origins of religion, its age-long evolution, its long, weary development amid savagery, barbarism, and civilization: you shall see that progress is still called for, that the goal is yet afar off, and that, to the earnest, broad-minded thinker, to the sympathetic mind, all existing cults are too cramped, all creeds too narrow.

Our task now is to explain the beliefs and practices of the Maori folk of these isles, as they were held and practised in pre-European times; to examine them and draw such conclusions as may be possible. There is much to learn from a study of such beliefs, much food for thought in the varied phases of Maori religion, from its gross shamanism to its cult of the Supreme Being. In common justice this examination calls for detachment, for a careful analysis of many singular phases of human mentality without allowing preconceived notions or teachings to mar our judgment. Such is our task.

The following remarks from Holmes's *Poet at the Breakfast Table* illustrate the position: "We know a good deal about the earth on which we live. But the study of man has been so completely subjected to our preconceived opinions that we have got to begin all over again. We have studied anthropology through theology; we have now to begin the study of theology through anthropology."

PART II.

A SURVEY OF MAORI RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY: EVIDENCE OF EARLY WRITERS.

CONTENTS.

Myth and religion inseparable. Maori mode of narrative must be followed. Mentality of barbaric and civilized man. Mental alertness of native children. Mental discipline should accompany the acquisition of knowledge. Shortland's misleading statement as to the Maori and abstract thought. Buller condemns the Maori as a savage. Colenso recognized desirable qualities. Remarks by Thomson and Marshall. Effects of communism. Power of superstition. Reverence paid to a watch. Three phases of Maori religion. Four classes of gods. No system of public worship. Animism. Personification. Two elements of religion. Evidence of Cook, of Banks, of Du Clesmeur and Crozet, of Roux and P. de l'Horne. Dr. Savage's quaint observations. Remarks by Nicholas, Earle, Cruise. Yate's ignorance of the Maori. Evidence of Crawford, Taylor, and Dieffenbach. "The Maori knew nothing; he has no songs, no history, no traditions," says Tyrone Power. Rev. Taylor's just remarks. Maning's mistaken view. Grey's dictum. Restrained comments of "W. B." Colenso strays from the path. Evidence of Wohlers. Wilson sees the truth. Gudgeon sees two phases of Maori religion. Grant Allen on religion and myth.

IN order to give a connected account of native beliefs it will be necessary to refer to and explain both creeds and myths as we proceed, much as such matters were, in former days, taught to the people, or to pupils in the school of learning. To separate myth from religion would call for a certain amount of repetition, and would assuredly tend to confuse the reader. For example, without an explanation of cosmogonic and anthropogenic myths he could not grasp the meaning of many phases and functions of Maori religion, of ritual and ceremonial. This mode of procedure will also obviate the necessity of formulating rigid definitions of religion and myth, and of fixing a boundary between them. We have already seen that these are no easy tasks, inasmuch as the point of view differs widely among even the highest authorities.

In studying the religion and myths of a barbaric folk such as the Maori people of these isles it is by no means an easy task to do so in a sympathetic manner. Our own point of view differs so widely from that of neolithic man that we must ever experience considerable difficulty in understanding his views with regard to the supernormal. Behind this fact lies the cause of all such difficulties and differences—namely, the gulf that lies between the mentality of the Maori and that of our own folk. It is not a case of differing degrees of intelligence, for the Maori is a remarkably intelligent person; but of difference in outlook on life, on matters normal and supernormal, especially the latter. With regard to ordinary affairs of life no one is more shrewd than your Maori; but when any transaction or activity impinges on his superstition, it is then that you see revealed the peculiar mentality of the neolith, the undisciplined mind of barbaric man. Other such evidence is seen in the peculiar play of his emotions.

We are told that Maori children show quite remarkable intelligence and aptitude at school until, at a certain period of development, their aptitude or application seems to decline. In Keane's *Ethnology* we are informed that, in the case of negro children, the growth of the brain is arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone. It is possible that such is also the case with the Maori, who seems often to lack incentive with regard to the acquisition of knowledge as he approaches manhood. However, though most natives often seem to lack

application and incentive nowadays with regard to acquiring either European teachings or a knowledge of their own history, yet it would appear that such a condition is at least partially due to the great change wrought by the advent of the white man. The great change brought about by intrusive Europeans seems to have unsettled Maori life and mentality in a very serious manner. In this connection the Rev. R. Taylor wrote as follows: "The rising generation is indifferent to the traditions of the past, the mind being now occupied with so many fresh subjects of interest which European intercourse is introducing."

William Brown, an observer of Maori life in the "forties" of last century, wrote: "The shortest intercourse with them is quite sufficient to satisfy any one that he is dealing with minds in no degree inferior to his own, and that knowledge only is wanting to enable them to become formidable rivals in mental superiority."

In his *Southern Districts of New Zealand* Shortland draws attention to some of the peculiarities of Maori character, which, he remarks, are "very important for the European colonist to understand," because they show us that natives have many motives for action quite different from ours. These motives it is necessary to understand before we can refer a native's actions to their right source. The same writer tells us that the Maori has a very limited notion of the abstract, hence the powers of nature were regarded by him as concrete objects, and were personified. He omits to note the far-reaching concepts of spiritual and intellectual potentiae of man evolved by the Maori, each of which had its own name. The Maori had two sets of names for natural phenomena, the ordinary vernacular names and the names of their personified forms. The Maori may have viewed the powers of nature as concrete in one meaning of that term, as opposed to abstract, but there is nothing to show that he viewed them as entities. He personified them in obedience to his mythopoetic nature, as he personified the ocean, earth, sky, as also misfortune, sickness, death, &c. Ere this paper is completed I believe that readers will admit that the evidence proves the Maori to have had a much more extensive conception of the abstract than he has been credited with by European writers.

The Rev. James Buller, an early missionary, draws a deplorable picture of the native character in his *Forty Years in New Zealand*. He says: "Their moral side was a dark picture; it was relieved by only the faintest gleams of light; selfishness, in some form or other, was the base-line of it. . . Their conversation was sensual, their ideas filthy, and their language obscene. Chastity was rare, if known at all. They were given to sorcery, witchcraft, murder." He concludes by referring to Romans i, 28–32, and heaping that cheerful store of vituperation upon the hapless Maori. It is the old story of a cold, narrow, unsympathetic viewpoint that sees nothing good outside one's own backyard. The data given in the following pages will show that the foregoing indictment is decidedly too strong; good points can be found in the native character if we choose to note them, but a certain type of mind declines to look for such, or to recognize them when in plain view.

Colenso remarks concerning the Maori, "Their intellectual and moral faculties, as a race, were of a high order, however stunted, warped, or debased they may have been through custom, habit, or their strong and unrestrained animal propensities." He gives a list of Maori virtues and a much longer list of their evil qualities.

Thomson maintains that many of the ills of native life were the result of neglect to cultivate reason and judgment—in which, doubtless, he is correct; but the task of reason in overcoming superstition and innate evil propensities is a long and hard one. He says: "Every quality and acquirement which constitutes a well-regulated mind is wanting, and they are deficient in habits of steady and continuous attention, of association and mental industry. . . They have the minds of children and the passions of men. . . They are deficient in that sort of moral courage which causes men to execute the commands of reason and conscience."

Dr. Marshall and other writers comment on the instability of the native character, and it is clear to those who know the Maori that most of the weaknesses of his character are due to some phase of irresponsibility, and emphasize the universal need for training and discipline in all departments of human activity. Dr. Marshall also looked upon the fact of there being no word for "gratitude" in the Maori tongue as "a circumstance strikingly illustrative of the moral debasement of a people, and of the state of utter degradation to which their minds must have been reduced." Many writers have made similar remarks, quite overlooking an ordinary use of the word *mihi*, as also other ways employed by natives in order to express such feelings. Again, these writers did not understand the nature and effects of communistic habits and customs, and their singular effects on conventional decorum and social intercourse. Marshall's statement is untrue and unjust.

When examining the social, mental, and moral characteristics of the Maori, one finally comes to the conclusion that their thoughts and actions were much influenced by two of their racial customs—viz., their communism and the eternal suspicion of all extra-tribal persons, influences, and institutions. These peculiar views, natural to a people of their culture stage and social usages, often seriously affected their sense of justice and fair dealing. Communism, while beneficial to the family group, clan, or tribe, does not make for true altruism; its bounds are too rigid.

The Maori lived in a state of communalism in which mental or intellectual individuality had but a poor chance to make its mark, and conventionalism kept the people under the influence of the tribal religion and superstitions. Even though a people be freed from such a thraldom, yet it is long ere they learn to think and act for themselves—that is, to embrace individualism.

Several writers have assured us that the Maori was in the habit of acquiring certain qualities, such as courage, for example, by the simple process of consuming the bodies of such slain enemies as had possessed those qualities. I have never heard any native make such an assertion, and could never obtain a corroboration of such statements, hence they are viewed by me as being doubtful.

There is one point that cannot be too strongly stressed, and that is the grip that superstition had, and still has, on the native mind. This fact comes home to those who have to deal with natives, and is the cause of many exasperating situations. The strong belief in witchcraft led the hapless native into countless troubles, and his imagination lent the force of truth to such beliefs, hence their faith in impossible powers and attributes have destroyed vast numbers of people. The Maori has the dread of darkness known to all culture stages in some form, though intensified among uncultured folk. The principal cause of this fear is the dread of supernatural beings, such as spirits of the dead that, as ghosts, are believed to be hovering about. Natives may also show great dread of some harmless object simply because they do not understand its nature. Nicholas tells us of the amazement caused among some natives in the far north when he shot two birds before their eyes, and of the terror inspired by the dread instrument of death: "I showed my shot-bag to one of the old men, but the sight of it terrified him so much that he durst not venture to take a second glance at it; and, turning away his head in the greatest trepidation from this magazine of death, I am persuaded he entertained worse notions of it than ever were imagined of Pandora's box." The writer found that the same natives were highly entertained with his watch, which did not excite their fears: "Every one was impatient to have a peep at it, but the ticking was so wonderful to their conceptions that they believed it to be nothing less than the language of a god; and the watch itself, being looked upon as the *atua* [supernatural being], was regarded by the whole of them with profound reverence."

Owing probably to their long retention of the communal mode of life, and the enmity that has existed between different tribes, the Maori character is deeply endowed with suspicion, and this feeling is manifested in many and sometimes very peculiar ways.

When the Government presented the Tuhoe Tribe with some Angora goats, the local wiseheads of Ruatoki pondered over the matter until they came to the conclusion that this new breed of animal possessed some divinatory instinct by which they were enabled to detect the presence of gold in the earth. Doubtless the Government would, ere long, send its emissaries to note places where these animals browsed; they would then seize such lands and search for the treasures concealed therein.

It seems quite possible that the communal habits and lack of privacy so marked in Maori life would have considerably effect in retarding advancement, inasmuch as they would impede the development of personality, and prevent introspective thought to a serious extent.

Brown, a writer already quoted, remarks that "Superstition, in one or other of its varied forms, is the basis of the social fabric of the New-Zealander; and when this is eradicated from his mind he is left entirely to the guidance of his own feelings, the restraining influence on such a class of minds being as nothing in the balance. . . . The same class of minds under their primitive superstitions would have been infinitely more trustworthy and better members of society, because they would then have been effectually restrained by their own laws." Again, the same writer remarks elsewhere in his work: "We are well aware that ages have been spent in unfolding and perfecting every moral influence derived from, as well as independent of, religious impressions; and yet, with all this amount of civilization, no nation could exist without the power of the civil law. No such power, however, exists among the New-Zealanders."

The firm belief held by the Maori that all offences against the gods—that is to say, all infringements of the laws of *tapu*, &c.—were punished in this world, not in the spirit-world, had a highly important effect upon his actions and behaviour; indeed, the far-reaching influences of the belief are surprising. Thus it was that, when a native was taken ill, he and his friends would at once conclude that the gods were punishing him for some *hara*. This belief would not only ensure the death of the invalid in many cases, but it would also tend to prevent any research in the science of medicine. The working of these singular beliefs will be further explained when we come to describe the ritual of magic, and other matters.

It may be said that there are three phases of Maori religion. The highest form thereof is represented by the exclusive cult of Io, such being the name of the Supreme Being. It will be shown that this cult affected the bulk of the people to but a slight extent; it was in the hands of the first order of the priesthood, whose priests jealously retained the performance of its ritual in their own hands. Thus this highest aspect or development of Maori religion was an affair confined to a few persons with regard to its practices. The bulk of the people knew nought of it. In the second phase of Maori religion, in which departmental gods were concerned, the bond may be said to have been one between the community and the gods, the ritual bearing a more communistic aspect. In the third phase, in which family gods, deified ancestors, were appealed to, the bond was often between the individual and the god.

The superior type of these forms, the cult of Io, possessed a considerable and very remarkable ritual pitched upon a comparatively high plane of thought, but which was unknown to the mass of the people. This ritual was employed only in connection with matters of importance, and never in any activity pertaining to evil things. The gods of the departmental type were appealed to in matters connected with war, agriculture, fishing, and other industries. Gods of the third order were utilized as war-gods, as powers to protect the people, their lands, homes, &c., and also as destructive agents in the arts of black magic. Those of the fourth order were utilized principally as protectors of their descendants in divers ways. This type of being became malignant towards their descendants only through neglect and misdemeanour, as when some law of *tapu* was broken. At the same time such beings might be employed to harass other folk than

their descendants; thus they were benignant beings towards their descendants, but might be very much the reverse toward other folk. In case of minor troubles or afflictions these family gods, or familiars, were relied upon; in more serious affairs tribal and departmental gods were appealed to; in matters of supreme importance the highest form of ritual, that of the cult of Io, was practised.

The Maori had dealings with his gods for two purposes, on two occasions—when he wanted something, and when he feared something; in the one case he craved the desired object or quality, in the second he craved protection. In employing an *atua* to slay an enemy his aim was still self-protection. Hence we see that he invoked his gods only when he wanted something—which, after all, is a very human characteristic, and apparently common to all peoples. He had evolved a belief in certain powers, and simply approached those powers for such benefits as he could obtain from them.

There was no regular system of public worship among the Maori, no regular attendance at any sacerdotal function. The nearest approach to such a thing was when, occasionally, the people attended some important function marked by certain ritual performances, such as those instituted at the opening of a new (superior) house, or new fort, &c., such rites being for the purpose of removing the *tapu* from those places.

In *Primitive Ritual and Belief* we find the following statement: "From the sociological point of view perhaps the most important distinction in primitive ritual is that between private and public rites. The former are of an individual and sacramental nature, whereas the latter refer to the well-being of the community at large."

The Maori had no regular sacred day or days, and the only approach to such were the days upon which any important ceremony was performed, such as the *tohi* rite over a child of rank, the exhumation of bones of the dead, the lifting of *tapu* from a new house, and the destruction of pests in a *kumara* plantation. These functions, as also many others, were accompanied by ritual performances and followed by a ceremonial feast. The lack of anything in the way of temples, and of regularly recurring sacred days, or religious performances, tended to prevent any form of public worship or prayer. Indeed, what we understand by the term "worship" did not pertain to Maori religion as practised or followed by the majority of the people. The peculiar psychological concept of a god that no person had cause to fear, and of ritual utterances directed to such being as a means of improving human life and conditions, was apparently being evolved in the cult of Io.

Hale has remarked that Polynesians have a constant, profound, absorbing sense of the ever-present activity of Divine agency. This might well be; and we shall see that it is supported by evidence in these isles, where the Maori mind was deeply imbued with animism and animatism. He not only looked upon or treated natural phenomena as supernatural beings, or gods, but also, in common with other races, elevated the dead man to that dignity. We shall also note traces of phallicism and a peculiar mental attitude towards sex in nature. Star-worship was undoubtedly practised, while the personified form of the sun served as a departmental god. In this connection it is well to remark that I often object to the use of the terms "god" and "worship" as applied to native beliefs and practices, but it is often impossible to avoid using them, and a full explanation may serve to explain the native attitude towards such things. The explaining of certain Maori concepts is, however, by no means a simple task.

Ethnographers have given us many dissertations on the universal tendency to anthropomorphism, and some have apparently held that the belief in anthropomorphic deities is the mark of an inferior stage of culture. But this tendency is also most marked in the highest culture planes, as we all know. The Maori personified almost all things in nature, and endows these supernatural beings with human powers and passions. His Supreme Being is conceived in human form, and that being possesses the faculty of human speech, as does Jehovah, who speaks to Moses. The fact is that the average intellect among us

cannot, or does not, grasp the conception of a god in other than human form. Only those of superior mentality given to introspective and abstract thought ever seize the concept of a purely abstract deity, a formless Power. All the rest of us, the vast bulk of the people, require something more tangible; we must have it, if we have to evolve it ourselves.

Above all, bear in mind that, crude as the native religion may have been, yet ever the Maori lived up to it. His belief in his gods was firm, the effects of that belief were far-reaching. It lay behind his marvellous powers as a navigator of wide seas; it was the cohesive power in his social organization, for it usurped the place of civil law.

Broadly speaking, there are usually two aspects of a racial or national religion, two grades of mentality are illustrated in belief and practice, in the attitude of the people towards the supernormal. Moreover, the latter aspect of a religion among such a folk as the Maori one may become acquainted with after some years of residence among the people, but concerning the former it is extremely difficult to obtain any particulars. Very few persons ever succeed in getting any explanation of it. In his *Making of Religion* Mr. Andrew Laing makes the following apt remarks: "There are two currents, the religious and the mythical, flowing together through religion. The former current, religious, even among very low savages, is pure from the magical ghost-propitiating habit. The latter current, mythological, is full of magic, mummery, and scandalous legend. . . Anthropology has mainly kept her eyes fixed on the impure stream. . . The worse side of religion is the less sacred, and therefore the more conspicuous. Both elements are found co-existing in almost all races."

Remarks by Early Voyagers, Travellers, etc.

In his account of his first sojourn in New Zealand Captain Cook makes the following remarks concerning the natives: "Of the religion of these people it cannot be supposed that we could learn much; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme, and the rest subordinate; and gave nearly the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as our friends in Otaheite [Tahiti]; Tupia [Tupaea], however, seemed to have a much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the people here. . . What homage they pay to the deities they acknowledge we could not learn; but we saw no place of public worship, like the morais [*marae*] of the South Sea Islands."

It is quite certain that Cook and his companions learned nothing concerning Maori belief in a Supreme Being, for that was the very last thing they would have told him. He may have heard, through Tupaea, of some mythological beings.

In Sir Joseph Banks's *Journal* we find the following remarks: "We saw few or no signs of religion among these people; they had no public place of worship, as the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and only one private one came under my notice, which was in the neighbourhood of a plantation of their sweet potatoes. It was a small square bordered round with stones; in the middle was a spade, and on it hung a basket of fern-roots, an offering (I suppose) to the gods for the success of the crops—so, at least, one of the natives explained it. They, however, acknowledged the influence of superior beings."

In Becket's account of Cook's first voyage are some remarks on the religion of the natives of Tahiti, which show how little can be learned on this subject when the interrogator has but the most superficial knowledge of the native tongue. A few of the remarks are here quoted: "They believe in the existence of one supreme God, whom they call Maw-we, but acknowledge an infinite number of inferior deities generated from him, and who preside over particular parts of the creation. . . They have, however, no religious establishment, or mode of divine worship; neither the dictates of nature or of reason having suggested to them the expediency or propriety of paying

external adoration to the deity: on the contrary, they think him far too elevated among his creatures to be affected by their actions. . . They have some notion of a future life in another island, but it does not seem as if they considered it as a state of retribution for the actions of this life, since they believe that each individual will there enjoy the same condition in which he has lived here."

The "Maw-we" alluded to is for Maui, who was not even an inferior god, but merely a hero of native myth. This writer shows the usual disappointment because there existed no native belief in the hell of his own faith.

In the account of his third voyage, Cook makes the following remarks concerning the Maori: "According to their system of belief, the soul of the man whose flesh is devoured by the enemy is doomed to a perpetual fire, while the soul of the man whose body has been rescued from those who killed him, as well as the souls of all who die a natural death, ascend to the habitations of the gods." Here Cook was totally wrong, for the Maori held no such belief. His subsequent remarks are much nearer the truth: "They have no such thing as morais [*marae*], or other places of public worship; nor do they ever assemble together with this view. But they have priests, who alone address the gods in prayers for the prosperity of their temporal affairs; such as an enterprise against a hostile tribe, a fishing-party, or the like. Whatever the principles of their religion may be, its instructions are very strongly inculcated into them from their very infancy. Of this I saw a remarkable instance in the youth who was first destined to accompany Taweiharoa. He refrained from eating the greatest part of the day, on account of his hair being cut; though every method was tried to induce him to break his resolution . . . he said, if he eat anything that day, the *atua* would kill him." This latter was, of course, a case of *tapu*, an institution closely connected with the native religion.

In the journal kept by Captain Du Clesmeur, of the "Marquis de Castries," Marion du Fresne's vessel, in 1772, we find a brief note on Maori religion: "We are not certain whether they recognize a divinity or not. It would seem, however, that they worship an evil spirit. Their idols, or what we have considered as being such, have the head of a monster, the body of a dog, claws, and the tail of a fish." The carved figures seen in native houses and elsewhere were not idols, nor did they represent gods. Many early travellers in these isles have made the mistake of thinking them so. Those referred to above were probably the weird figures known as *manaia* and *marakihau*.

Crozet, who was with Marion du Fresne at the Bay of Islands in 1772, makes some remarks concerning the religion of the natives, or some guesses thereat. He seems to have mistaken the carved human figures seen about a native village for idols. He noted the Maori habit of crooning songs in the dead of night, and imagined that these were prayers. He says: "I understood that they only had a faint idea of a Supreme Being and of some subsidiary invisible creatures, that they were somewhat afraid of these latter and prayed frequently to them; that the object of these prayers was to become the conquerors and butchers of their enemies."

In an account of the sojourn of Marion's vessels in New Zealand waters given in Roux's journal, as published in vol. 2 of McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, occur the following remarks: "It seemed to me that they have a religion. First, I had noticed that each time these natives slept on board the ship they never failed to rise at a certain hour of the night and commence to pray, muttering various words, amongst which they kept on repeating that of 'mathe' [*mate*], which signifies 'to kill.' This prayer lasted for about half an hour, after which they lay down again. Secondly, they have in all their houses a large stake fixed in the middle, on which is carved a hideous figure resembling those which are said to represent the devil. Besides this, each chief and some others amongst them wear at their necks a green stone as broad as a hand, upon which is engraved this same figure. All these things make me believe

that these people recognize and worship some sort of being." On a later occasion this writer witnessed the performance of a ceremony for the removal of *tapu* from certain garments, whereupon he remarks, "May it not be inferred from this that these islanders have some religion, and that they recognize the existence of a god."

The foregoing remarks concerning the habit of crooning songs at night, the carved house-post, and the neck-pendant termed a *tiki*, are of course mere surmises. No person unacquainted with the native tongue could have gained any knowledge of their religion.

In a journal written by P. de l'Horne, of the "Saint Jean Baptiste" (De Surville's vessel), he makes the following remarks anent the northern natives: "These people have some notion of a divinity, for the image some of them carry round their necks is certainly an idol. This figure seems to be squatting on its heels, with very wide thighs, very broad shoulders; the mouth wide open, the tongue hanging out, and a limb pointed like a dog's protruding. The signs they made us, to explain to us it was a god, were to join their hands together and raise their eyes to the sky."

This is another case of a mistake concerning the *tiki* pendant, which, although it represents a personification, cannot be termed an idol or representation of a god.

The following extract from Dr. Savage's *Some Account of New Zealand* illustrates the wrong conclusions drawn by persons having no knowledge of the language of people whose customs and institutions they endeavour to describe. The above writer paid a short visit to New Zealand in 1805. "But little is known of the religion of these people; the chief objects of their adoration are the sun and moon; with the stars they are well acquainted, and have names for a great many of them; the moon, however, is their favourite deity. . . The annexed plate represents an ornament formed of the green talc . . . which they intend for a likeness of this protecting deity. It is worn round the neck of both sexes, particularly during times in which peril is apprehended. When paying their adoration to the rising sun, the arms are spread and the head bowed, with the appearance of much joy in their countenances, accompanied with a degree of elegant and reverential solemnity. The song used upon this occasion is cheerful and not destitute of harmony; while that made use of upon the going-down of the sun is mournful, and accompanied by such actions as evidently denote sorrow for his departure. . . The song used to the moon is mournful, and their accompanying actions denote a mixture of adoration and apprehension."

With the exception of the remark about natives being acquainted with the stars, all the above statements are utterly wrong and misleading.

J. L. Nicholas, who accompanied the Rev. S. Marsden to New Zealand in 1814, gave us his view of Maori religion: "The New-Zealanders, as far as we could discover from Duaterra, have some confused ideas of a Supreme Being, but their superstitions are in general most absurd and extravagant. Besides a Supreme Power, of which, as I said, they have some notion, they likewise believe in a great number of inferior gods, to each of whom they have given distinct powers and peculiar functions. One of them they have placed over the elements, another over the fowls of the air and the fishes of the sea; and there are an infinite number of others, whose duties are so complicated and multifarious that it would fill a large volume to recount them. In addition to those superstitions which have been suggested to them by their physical necessities, they have many others, which have originated with the affections of the mind; hence they have been led to deify the various passions of the human heart, and anger, grief, joy, &c., are all included in their system of theogony."

Inasmuch as Nicholas was ignorant of the Maori tongue and forced to rely upon Ruatara's broken English, he was unwise to attempt any definition of Maori religion. Thus he is led to speak of the deification of the emotions, and applies the title of Supreme Being to Maui, the hero. His estimate of the other Maui brothers as gods is also wrong, as also is that of Tawhaki. His Teepockho [? Tipoko] "the God of Anger

and Death," is unknown to us. He also gives Heckotoro as "the God of Tears and of Sorrow," another name that we know nothing of.

Nicholas, however, makes some amends by stating that, in order to obtain a full account of Maori mythology, an intimate acquaintance with the native language and long residence in the country are necessary. He adds, "So that the missionaries, I conceive, will be best qualified for such a task." But that was another of Nicholas's mistakes.

Kendall, the early missionary, made this curious statement: "I am now, after a long, anxious, and painful study, arriving at the very foundation and groundwork of the cannibalism and superstitions of these islanders. All their notions are metaphysical, and I have been so poisoned with the apparent sublimity of their ideas that I have been almost completely turned from a Christian to a heathen."

Captain R. A. Cruise, who sojourned in New Zealand for ten months in 1820, provides the following notes: "It would be difficult to define what their religion is. They have innumerable superstitions, but no idolatry. They believe that the chiefs when they die go to a very happy place, but that the cookee (*i.e.*, cook, a term denoting slaves and persons of inferior status) has no further existence beyond this world. They address prayers to the sun, to the moon, to the stars, and even to the winds when their canoes are becalmed or in a storm; but their prayers emanate from casual circumstances, not from any regular form or time of adoration. They believe in a Supreme Being, designated the Atua, or something incomprehensible; the author of good and evil; the divinity who protects them in danger, or destroys them by disease."

The above statements about the "very happy place" and the plebeian may be struck out. Also, it is certain that Cruise has fallen into the same error that Savage did with regard to prayers to the heavenly bodies. No European of that time had any insight into the Maori system of personification, and Cruise certainly could have gained no evidence as to any direct appeal to sun and moon. He makes the usual error about *atua* and the Supreme Being.

Earle wrote of the Maori: "No order of priesthood exists among the natives. I have never discovered any symptoms of religion in these people, except it consists in a great variety of absurd and superstitious ceremonies." On the next page, however, we find the following remark: "Several of their chiefs assured me they believed in the existence of a great and invisible spirit, called Atua, who keeps a constant charge and watch over them; and that they are constantly looking out for tokens of his approbation or displeasure. There is not a wind that blows but they imagine it bears some message from him." Here it is clear that Earle, in his ignorance of the native tongue, concluded that the word *atua* denoted the Supreme Being, or at least a high god. Again, he says: "Like all rude and ignorant people, the New-Zealanders seem more to fear the wrath of their God than to love his attributes; and constant sacrifices (too often human ones) are offered up to appease his anger. They imagine that the just and glorious Deity is ever ready to destroy, and that His hand is always stretched forth to execute vengeance." It is in such nonsense as the above that we see how absurd it is for a person ignorant of the language of an uncultured folk to attempt to understand their religious ideas. The identifying of tribal *atua* or demons with "the just and glorious Deity" is an absurdity, and Earle, as an educated man, should have known better.

J. C. Crawford (*Recollections of Travels in New Zealand and Australia*) is brief in his remarks: "The old religion of the Maoris seems to have been of a meagre description. It was founded on the semi-deification of ancestors. . . The most practical institution of the old religion of New Zealand was that of *tapu*." As in most other cases with early writers, Crawford had no insight into Maori religion. The deification of ancestors was not the basis of that religion, but a secondary matter.

In his *Past and Present of New Zealand* Taylor recognizes the fact that the Maori had a religion, and conformed to its requirements, but follows Earle in having his mind fixed on the Supreme Being, instead of recognizing the different concepts of barbaric man.

In commenting upon native myths the Rev. Mr. Yate, an early missionary, remarks: "They pay no kind of respect or worship to Maui or his brother, and have no other gods whom they regard. When, therefore, they have a desire to believe the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, there is only the natural hardness of the human heart to oppose its progress; they have no long-cherished idols to remove, no domestic or public images to destroy, no household gods to cast away."

It seems most singular that any person could reside for some time among the natives and yet remain ignorant of their life and beliefs to the last. Maui was never looked upon as a god, though he might have been termed an *atua*, using the term in its sense of "mischievous," &c. Any inquiry into the institutions of *tapu* and magic, into native industries and customs, by a person able to converse with them would have exposed to view many of the Maori gods.

Polack, in his remarks on the religious feeling of Maori folk, says: "It would be difficult positively to assert the nature of the national religion of the people, when each person is satisfied in following the dictates of his own passions undeterred by a future retributive reward. They have no particular deity to address on any supplication they may make, but equally attempt to propitiate birds, trees, rivers, rocks, their own shadows, animals, or substances animate or inanimate, and the works of the Creator generally. . . The only national deity is Mawe [Maui]."

Herein Polack utterly fails to grasp or illustrate Maori mentality and religious thought. The belief in gods was a very strong deterrent, though punishment in the spirit-world was not thought of. Nor did the Maori propitiate birds, trees, rocks, &c.; in themselves they possessed no virtue or power. Again, Maui was no deity, but merely one of the old myth heroes, possibly also a personification.

Polack proceeds to explain that each district had its own gods and idols. Idols were unknown, and the only gods that were not universally known were tribal and family gods. Departmental gods were known to all tribes, and some of them are known in many isles of Polynesia.

Elsewhere Polack remarks: "The religious tenets of the New-Zealanders are inculcated into their minds at a very early age; yet they worship no representation of the Great Spirit, who is believed to be implacable, and the origin of every evil." Here again we encounter the confusion of malevolent demons, or tribal deities of a low grade, with a Great Spirit. Polack also lays stress on deified ancestors, but omits any reference to nature gods.

Quoth the Rev. J. Buller, in his *Forty Years in New Zealand:* "Religion, according to both the true and popular meaning of the word, they had none. They knew nothing of the doctrine of future rewards and punishments." Yet this man was a native linguist, and one of those on whom we depend for our ethnographical data!

Dieffenbach wrote as follows: "If we take religion in its common meaning as a definable system of certain dogmas and prescriptions, the New-Zealanders have no religion. Their belief in the supernatural is confined to the action and influence of spirits on the destiny of men, mixed up with fables and traditions." He also remarks that Maui and Pani "are the principal persons in the mythology of the people."

The following amazing remarks were made by one W. Tyrone Power in his work on peregrinations in New Zealand and other lands: "The Maories have no history, no songs or ballads, and scarcely even the semblance of a tradition to roughly shadow out the past. No Homer or Ossian has handed down in popular strains the name of warrior, sage, or poet. No Druids or priests have kept alive oral traditions; and there is barely an individual in New Zealand whose antiquarian lore ascends beyond his own times.

Their solitary tradition is that they are descended from Maui, who, with a canoe-load of companions, came from 'somewhere' and settled here. . . From these uncertain data there is a sad hiatus in Maori chronology, the next fact rewarding one's researches being the arrival of Captain Cook in the island."

The foregoing is the most startling statement respecting Maori traditions and mental powers that I have ever seen. Power resided for some years in New Zealand, yet his ignorance of the natives seems to have been colossal. A mere portion of native traditions has been recorded, yet it covers thousands of pages of print. As to native songs, a considerable number have been collected and printed, probably a thousand. An old native of the Tuhoe Tribe dictated to me four hundred and six songs from memory in 1896; these are still in manuscript form. As to names not being handed down by the Maori, where is the people that have so carefully preserved their genealogies? When, in the "nineties" of last century, Tamarau Waiari, of Ruatoki, was called upon to recite the lines of descent of the clan or subtribe known as Ngati-Koura, the task occupied nearly three days, including time spent in explanations. The completed table showed the descent of all family groups, and all living persons of the clan, from a single ancestor who flourished about eight hundred years ago. This necessitated the recital, in correct order, of over fourteen hundred names; and the Court contained keen-eared experts ever ready to detect and denounce any error in name or position. When we come to describe the *tapu* institution known as the *whare wananga*, we shall see how extremely careful the Maori was to conserve his oral traditions, and pass them on correctly to succeeding generations.

After the preceding remarks of Power, the following note of his need not create surprise: "The Maoris do not appear to have had any settled form of religion; their faith seems to have been confined to the acknowledgment of an Atua or good principle, and of an evil one called Taipo." Atua as = "good principle" is startling, and Taipo has not yet been discovered by the Maori himself.

The following remarks are taken from the Rev. R. Taylor's work *The Past and Present of New Zealand:* "It is a common practice of travellers and voyagers to speak disparagingly of the religion of savage nations; to make it appear that they have the slightest possible connection with humanity; it is often affirmed that many tribes have either no religion at all or next to none. Perhaps there is nothing that travellers are in reality less able to speak of than this. Natives seldom permit strangers to witness their sacred rites; and even if they did, without a perfect acquaintance with their language, manners, customs, &c., they could not form a just opinion on the subject."

Herein our missionary makes a very true statement, and he continues in this wise: "So likewise the Maories have been spoken of as being atheists and infidels; they have been very much wronged by such suppositions. Bad as the religion of the heathen Maories undoubtedly was, still they had one and believed in it, and conformed to its requirements." These remarks are of an unusual nature to come from a missionary, and are therefore the more welcome. Elsewhere the same writer remarks: "The Maori race were very particular in observing all their rites; they entered into everything they did; they undertook no work without first performing a religious service; whether they went to war, to fish, or hunt, they first approached their gods, that the undertaking might be prosperous. When they planted their *kumara* the priest first invoked their gods; the same also when the ingathering of the crop took place; the firstfruits, whether they were those of the hunt, or fishing, or fighting, were all sacred. In fact, they had far greater fear of the *tapu*, as that spiritual law was called, than they had of their enemies."

After this it is somewhat disappointing to come across a statement by Taylor, in his *Te Ika a Maui*, to the effect that "the Maoris are devil-worshippers." He should have had the intelligence to note that what he terms "worship" was merely placation;

that when a native casts aside a bird or fish with the remark, "*Ki a koe, e Whiro!*" ("To thee, O Whiro!"), the placatory idea prompted the act, not that of worship.

Dr. Thomson describes Maori religion as follows: "The religious belief of the New-Zealanders was that which belongs to the infancy of a race. It was a religion dictated by wants and fears. To their gods they prayed for food, to their deified ancestors for the removal or the prevention of evils. They believed in a future state of existence, and that there was a spirit within their bodies."

Now note what Hochstetter wrote later: "The religious belief of the New-Zealanders was that which belongs to the infancy of a race. Their religion was a kind of polytheism, a worship of elementary spirits and deified ancestors; yet without idols and temples. They believed in a future state of existence, and that there was a spirit within their bodies which never died."

In his remarks Thomson has not discriminated between the higher and lower beliefs of the race; indeed, he was probably not acquainted with the former. No doubt his second remark contains an element of truth, but many religions are dictated by wants and fears. We shall see in our review of native beliefs and practices that very little of their ritual can be placed under the term "prayer." Nor was the Maori religion one that belongs to the infancy of a race; it had passed through the more primitive stages. Elsewhere this writer remarks, "Their evil deeds were punished in this world, not in the next. Sickness and personal injuries were the punishments inflicted on evil-doers, consequently death was a relief from misery. Unlike Christians, they had no dread of a prolonged existence of future agony." Certainly not, for the Maori, in his religion, never sank to the depths of intolerance reached by more advanced systems.

In his entertaining work *Old New Zealand* the late Judge Maning wrote: "The Maori has, perhaps, the lowest religious character of any human being; his mental formation seems to have the minimum of religious tendency. The idea of a Supreme Being has never occurred to him, and the word which the missionaries use for God (*atua*) means, indifferently, a dead body, a sickness, a ghost, or a malevolent spirit."

Here again we have a writer who lived many years among the Maori folk, who had a good command of the native tongue, and yet the foregoing remarks are, except the last one, utterly misleading. His religion controlled every activity of a Maori's life, and he had evolved, or borrowed in the remote past, a remarkably fine conception of the Supreme Being. Maning, with all his knowledge and opportunities, utterly failed to penetrate beyond the shamanism practised by native warlocks. The upper planes of native mentality were to him, apparently, a sealed book.

In his preface to the first edition of *Polynesian Mythology*, Sir G. Grey remarked: "That their traditions are puerile is true; that the religious faith of the races who trust in them is absurd is a melancholy fact." The Maori faith in their Supreme Being was not absurd; it was pitched upon a much higher plane of thought than that which evolved the Jehovah of the Old Testament, but Grey knew nought of it.

The following remarks are taken from *Where the White Man Treads*, by "W. B.," who thus writes of Maori superstitions and of Maori conceptions of unseen powers: "In the first place I must accept the theory that they were necessary to him, that they met his wants; and the more I study his case the more I am convinced that a benevolent scheme would not have stood the test of two generations." The above writer holds that the strenuous struggle among uncultured peoples to enable them to survive, the law of the survival of the fittest, effectually prevented the conception of a beneficient deity. "Hence, when he invented a cosmogony, it of necessity was cast in the mould of that striving, killing nature of which he was the highest developed member. Therefore he shared, in common with all primitive races, the want of words to express veneration, benevolence, and worshipful adoration. A loving, patriarchal creator was utterly beyond his comprehension. He could conceive nothing benedictory

in the conditions of his surroundings, and therefore the creations of his gods coincided with his appetites. . . His *karakia* (incantations) were invocations to his gods to preserve him from the unknown; of placation, of propitiation."

If the Maori had confined his belief to a beneficent god, or gods—such a being as Io, for example—then his whole social system would have collapsed. The cohesive power that held society together, the substitute for civil law, the vivifying power that rendered certain institutions a deterrent force, was represented, not by the God, but by the gods—the jealous gods ever swift to punish man for wrongdoing, and punishing him in this world, not in the spirit-world.

Colenso, an early missionary, had no doubts concerning native religion. He writes: "Religion, according to both the true and popular meaning of the word, they had none. Whatever religion may be defined to be, virtue, as founded upon the reverence of God, and expectation of future rewards and punishments, or any system of divine faith and worship, they knew nothing of the kind. They had neither doctrine nor dogma, neither culture nor system of worship. They knew not of any Being who could properly be called God. They had no idols. They reverenced not the sun, or moon, or glittering heavenly host, or any natural phenomena." Apart from this curious tirade, Colenso tells us that the Maori, in dealing with his gods, "never once thought of getting any aid or good from them." In this we shall see that he was quite wrong; also that he missed noting the universal system of placation employed by the Maori. His remark that the observances of *tapu* were in place of religion is utterly incorrect, those observances being the effect of his religion, of his belief in gods.

The Rev. Mr. Wohlers, another early missionary, has written as follows: "The heathen religion of the Maori in New Zealand had got into such confusion that no meaning could be found in it. . . By religion we understand a feeling of dependency in the human mind, in the consciousness of its own weakness, on a higher being or beings; which beings are therefore feared and worshipped. But the Maori religion had lost its hold on the old gods altogether, and had taken hold on their living chiefs and their surrounding *tapu*, or sacredness." Like most missionaries Wohlers utterly failed to acquire any knowledge of the religion of the Maori, though many natives then living in his district could have enlightened him. Wohlers's remarks as to the abandonment of the old gods are quite incorrect, and the confusion he refers to was probably caused by his own ignorance of the different grades of gods believed in by the Maori.

The late Judge Wilson wrote as follows in *The Story of Te Waharoa:* "They were naturally religious. Their affairs, whether political, civil, or social, were all blended with religion or superstition. It was invoked when they fished, planted, and gathered in their crops, when they sent out a *tana* (armed force) or attacked a *pa*. . . In short, the genius of the people was nearly as essentially religious, and their actions as subject to the control of their *tohunga* (priests) as we are told the Thibetans are influenced in all their civil and social arrangements by the Grand Lama and his Buddhistical priesthood."

Missionary R. Taylor, in his *Te Ika a Maui*, has these remarks: "It is remarkable that, although the natives had innumerable *karakia* (charms, &c.) and rites, yet they had no stated festivals, or any days more sacred than others; nor had they a system common to all. Their religion, indeed, may be regarded as of an individual rather than of a national character, each one being independent of his neighbour, and at liberty to follow his own ideas, although there were persons called priests who officiated on certain occasions, such as before entering upon a war expedition, planting or reaping the *kumara* (sweet potato), fishing or hunting. Still this did not interfere with each one's individual right to use whatever *karakia* he might think fit, and whenever he pleased. In this respect they differed from most nations, which in general are so tenacious of any interference with the rights and privileges of the constituted priesthood."

As a rule it seems to be the priesthood that objects to such interference most strongly. Taylor does not explain that the priests always conducted any ritual connected with what were deemed important matters, far more than he has mentioned; but in minor matters affecting merely the individual each person possessed a budget of charms to be recited by himself when required. Thus, in respect to fishing and fowling, a priest performed all the more important ritual, while each man was acquainted with a charm to recite when fishing, another to repeat over his bird-snares, and so on. These were equivalent to private prayers in a more advanced culture stage, wherein priests conduct all important ceremonial, but do not object to the private devotions of the individual.

In his paper on "Maori Religion," published in vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Colonel Gudgeon states that "Among the Maoris there are traces of two religious systems, one of which is purely abstract in its conception of the Deity, and of a very exalted type, inasmuch as it attributes the existence of all things to the great god Io. The second is probably a later and most certainly an inferior conception, in which the powers of nature are personified in the persons of certain anthropomorphic gods, and it is this fact that constitutes the difference between the two systems." These remarks are correct, save that there does not seem to be any proof that the conception of Io preceded the animistic phase of Maori religion. It is more probable that animism was practised long before the idea of a supreme deity was evolved.

Ere this paper is concluded it will have been made clear that the Maori simply had to keep on good terms with his gods; lacking such goodwill, life was practically impossible. The care-free attitude of the agnostic was unheard of; supernatural powers were ever feared.

It is possible that objection may be made to the mixture of religious and mythological matter in this chronicle, but it has been deemed inadvisable to attempt to separate the higher myths from religion, for not only do the two intermingle in the Maori mind, but any separation would entail much repetition. Thus many of the exploits of Tane would be assigned to mythology, but the cult of the god Tane undoubtedly belongs to religion. This would call for an explanation of Tane, his attributes and functions, under both heads, in order to make matters clear, or an exasperation of the reader by reference to former chapters.

Grant Allen remarks, in his *Evolution of the Idea of God*, "Religions, as we generally get them envisaged for us nowadays, are held to include the mythology, the cosmogony, the ontology, and even the ethics of the race that practises them. These extraneous developments, however, I hold to spring from different roots and to have nothing necessarily in common with religion proper." This may be so, but I still hold that it will simplify matters to tell the story as a native does, and include cosmogonic and theogonic myths in an account of the superior gods. In the development of religions, myths pertaining to gods are evolved and practically become part of the religion. These and cosmogonic myths become incorporated with religion in sacred writings or oral teachings, and, in some higher religions, to cast doubt on such myths brought condemnation or even severe punishment on the hapless atheist or heretic, as the offender was termed.

Allen sums up by saying that "Religion is practice, mythology is story-telling. Every religion has myths that accompany it; but the myths do not give rise to the religion; on the contrary, the religion gives rise to the myths." He also remarks that "These myths may be sometimes philosophic guesses, sometimes primitive folk-tales, but they certainly are not the truths of religion." This writer applies the term "relatively advanced race" to such a people as the Maori, a people that has evolved "higher elemental or departmental deities" who cannot be resolved into dead men or spirits.

PART III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MAORI COSMOGONY, THEOGONY, AND ANTHROPOGENY.

CONTENTS.

Primitive cosmogonic and anthropogenic myths preserved in advanced culture stages. Cosmogonic genealogy equals evolution. Variations of cosmogonic scheme. Creation and evolution. Sky and Earth were the primal parents. Personified forms of mental qualities, &c., precede Sky and Earth. The Po, or the Unknown. The void. The Cosmogonal tree. Bisexual beings. A pre-existent Supreme Being creates the universe. Water the first thing to appear. Watea (Space) separates Sky and Earth. Inferior cosmogonic concepts. The twelve heavens. Celestial beings. The offspring of Sky and Earth. The Earth Mother and her Children. Separation of Sky and Earth. Tane ascends the great mountain. The overturning of the Earth Mother. The origin of light. The heavenly bodies placed in the firmament. Tane represents the sun. The *waiora a Tane*. Whare-kura. Tane ascends to the uppermost heaven. Tane and Io. The three "baskets" of knowledge. The Whatukura. The Poutiriao, or Guardians. Tane *versus* Whiro. Contest between Light and Darkness. The House of Death. Origin of evil. Names of Tane. The quest of the female element. Origin of man. Tane the demiurge creates woman. The Earth-formed Maid. The *ira tangata*. Birth of the Dawn Maid. The Dawn Maid descends to the underworld. She becomes the champion of souls of the dead. The Tiki myth and its symbol.

THE cosmogony and anthropogeny of a race ever contain an element of interest to the anthropologist, although, speaking generally, it is not always safe to assume that such conceptions are a reliable illustration of the mentality and intellectuality of the people of that race. For instance, a people may mentally outgrow their national cosmogony, and yet continue to teach it, having nothing wherewith to replace it, or finding it difficult to do away with old beliefs. Thus the account given in Genesis of the origin of the world, and of man, though now disbelieved by a vast and ever-increasing number of persons, still holds its place in our sacred books, and, to a certain extent, in our teachings.

All races of man have conceived some form of myth in order to account for the existence of our species and the earth we dwell on. Hence the Maori has his allegorical myths pertaining to these weighty matters. These may be deemed puerile, but then most cosmogonic systems may be termed so, and even that of the Scriptures seems to have been but poorly arranged, inasmuch as it appears to bring light and vegetation into the world before the sun. This latter system, it seems probable, may have been evolved by the Turanian Accadians; it was certainly borrowed by the Semites, and by them passed on to Europe in Christianity.

The late Winwood Reade made a statement to the effect that savages have no idea of creation, or formation of the earth, but believe that it has always existed. This is not the case with the Maori. He has no detailed myth describing the actual creation of the earth, but, as a rule, taught his ideas of cosmogony by means of a singular allegorical myth showing the origin or growth of matter from chaos, or nothingness, and the gradual evolution of light from darkness. The superior version is to the effect that the Supreme Being brought the universe into being.

There is a considerable amount of variation in the different versions of Maori cosmogony, as preserved by different tribes, and this is no doubt owing to the long isolation of such tribes, for there was not much intercourse between them in pre-European days. There is also another factor that makes for contradictory statements—namely, the fact that two different aspects of all the superior class of myths were taught. One of these was that taught in the *tapu* school of learning, a version never disclosed to the bulk of the people, but retained by the higher grade of *tohunga* (experts or priests) and

by a few others. The other version was that imparted to the people at large, and this, as a rule, was of an inferior nature, more puerile and grotesque than the esoteric version. The former of these versions was that the universe was created by the Supreme Being, nothing being said about evolution. This, apparently, was known to but few. The other version is marked by what may be termed cosmogonic genealogies, in which everything is the result of a kind of evolutionary process. This teaching was widely known. In his work on the mythology of the Oceanic races, R. B. Dixon notes the occurrence of these two teachings in Polynesia.

A still more popular version, a fireside story, is connected with the origin of land, which, in New Zealand and many isles of Polynesia, is said to have been hauled up by a god or demi-god from ocean depths. The Samoan story of creation given in vol. 1 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* is a good specimen of the higher type of Polynesian creation myths. Other such pertain to the Society, Hawaiian, and Marquesas groups.

In some of these myths we shall see that natural phenomena are treated as entities; that such conditions as chaos and gloom reproduce themselves; and that a form of evolution from empty space down to the appearance of earth and sky is given in the form of a genealogical table. Another account reminds us of the cosmogonic tree of Asia and northern Europe; while the origin of man is almost invariably traced to the supernatural offspring of the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother. It would be unsafe to state that the Maori really believed that Darkness as an entity begat Light, or that nothing begat something. The Maori of yore appears to have thought out what he deemed a feasible line of evolution, and decided to explain it in manner genealogical; instead of saying that darkness was followed by light, he stated that darkness produced light. The earth and sky appeared from chaos or nothingness—that is, from the condition known to the Maori as the Po, usually rendered by us as "night" or "darkness," but which really implies the unknown. The origin of man is closely connected with cosmogony in Maori myth, for Earth and Sky were the progenitors of the race.

The curious phallic myth that makes Tiki the originator of man is explained elsewhere. In a number of these old myths the numerous names of Tane, Tiki, and other mythical beings are treated as separate and distinct personages, and so inserted in genealogical lines showing the descent of man from the gods. Other such lines of descent are brought down from the night of time, the ages prior to the existence of Rangi and Papa. Some include words denoting mental attributes or faculties, and certain physical functions, treated as though they were entities, or personified forms. One such, given by one Kohuora, of Rongoroa, in 1854, states that from Te Kune (signifying pregnancy) sprang Te Pupuke (signifying increase in size, swelling), from whom came Te Hihiri (denotes desire), who begat Te Mahara (signifies thought, memory), who begat Te Hinengaro (signifies the mind, desire), who had Te Manako (denotes longing, yearning), who had Te Po (signifying the unknown, unknown time or periods prior to birth and after death, hence applied to the spirit-world), who had Te Po-uriuri, who had Te Po-tangotango (phases of darkness). Several similar names follow, and then the statement "All was dark in those times, there were no eyes" (? heavenly bodies). Then come a series of names beginning with Te Kore (signifying non-existence, non-possession, non-occurrence). Some following names are not decipherable, but the last one mates with Atea (space) and produced the heavens, Rangi, who mated with the Earth, as represented by Hawaiki, the old homeland of the race, from which union sprang Taporapora, Tauwhare-nikau, Kukuparu, Wawau-atea, and Whiwhi-te-rangiora, which are names of islands of Polynesia, apparently. Then comes the name of Ru, a word that, in the vernacular, is employed to denote an earthquake; followed by many others, down to that of Toi, a Polynesian voyager who settled in New Zealand about thirty generations ago.

In any endeavour to obtain information concerning such matters as we are now discussing it is highly important that the inquirer should have access to the learned

men of the community, the few who have been carefully trained in the tribal lore. This calls not only for a knowledge of the native tongue, but also for a long residence among them, ere the men of knowledge acquire sufficient confidence in an alien to induce them to impart such knowledge to him. The ordinary folk of any Maori community know but little of these "higher matters," and give most absurd accounts of the descent of man from the primal parents Earth and Sky. A perusal of some of these accounts shows us that man first appeared on the earth about a hundred years before the time of Columbus—that is to say, at a time when the ancestors of the Maori had been long settled in New Zealand.

One can scarcely peruse any Maori myth or tradition without encountering references to the Po, and students of Maori lore have been much perplexed as to the meaning of this expression. It is, in many cases, employed as a name for the spirit-world, but this is probably a secondary meaning. Inquiries and observation exercised by the present writer, including analyses of many ancient cosmogonic myths, tend to show that the general or wider meaning of the term is "the unknown." References to the Po, as noted in Maori myth, tradition, song, and vernacular narratives, show us that all examples fall under four headings, and that these may be arranged in two groups, each composed of two interrelated definitions, as follows:—

1. The period of time prior to the existence of the universe.
2. The period of labour of the Earth Mother.
3. The period of time after death.
4. The spirit-world; underworld.

1. Through all these runs the idea of the unknown, more or less prominently. The unknown aeons of time before the heavens, earth, and heavenly bodies came into being was the Po—intangible, unknown, unseen, unknowable. It is expressed in, and described by, a series of negations, and even, apparently, by negatory personifications. Such expressions and explanatory names are Te Kore, Te Kore-te-whiwhia, Te Kore-te-rawea, Te Po-te-kitea, &c., which imply nothingness, non-existence, non-possession, the unseen, the unattainable.

2. The following six Po represent the six nights, or aeons of time, during which the Earth Mother was in labour with her offspring:—

Te Po.	Te Po-roa.	Te Po-kerekere.
Te Po-nui.	Te Po-uriuri.	Te Po-tiwha.

These terms denote phases of darkness, and during these periods the Earth Mother caused her progeny to acquire form, the breath of life, and growth. We are assured in Maori myth that all things—man, fish, beasts, insects, plants, and trees—passed through this embryonic stage of development, though some of the offspring of Papa were located in various divisions of Rangi (the heavens), and these were nurtured by Hine-te-ahuru (mother of the heavenly bodies), by Hine-ruru-mai, and by Hine-makohu-rangi (personified form of mist).

Here follow six more Po, which must be added to the former, thus making twelve in all, which are the *kaupeka* (branches or divisions) of the Po, even as we have twelve divisions of the year, and twelve of the heavens:—

Te Po-te-kitea.	Te Po-whawha.	Te Po-tahuri-atu.
Te Po-tangotango.	Te Po-namunamu-ki-taiao.	Te Po-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao.

These are the six Po during which the young of the Earth Mother moved within her as they sought the *ara namunamu ki taiao*, the narrow passage leading to the outer world, to this world (*taiao*). The above names carry an explanation—as, the unseen Po; the intensely dark Po; the Po of feeling; while the last two denote the restless turning of the progeny of the Earth Mother within her as they sought to escape to the outer world.

The Maori says: The counterpart of these Po during which the young of the Earth Mother moved within her, as known in this world, is seen with our women. When the child moves within the womb of the mother, and such movement is prolonged past the fourth night (*i.e.*, four days), then that child will die; if prolonged beyond the fifth or sixth *po* (night), then both mother and child will succumb. Hence the expressions applied to such periods of prolonged and difficult labour—namely, *hokai rauru nui*, *rauru whiwhia*, and *hokai rauru maruaitu*.

3, 4. There is a closer interrelationship in the case of 3 and 4 than in that of 1 and 2. The term "Po" is applied in a definite manner to the spirit-world below the earth, and this is usually explained by our writers as a realm of darkness, owing to the fact that the word *po* in the vernacular means "night." But in regard to both the spirit-world and also to the future generally after death, the primary meaning seems to be "the unknown." We ourselves use the expression "the night of time," and the Maori employs the term "Po" in the same manner; the darkness implied is that caused by lack of knowledge, not by lack of sunlight. Similar expressions used by us are "the mists of antiquity," "the dim past," and "the veiled future." We ever observe that light, life, and knowledge are grouped together in the Maori mind, as also are darkness, death, and ignorance. A Maori, in answer to a question as to certain occurrences in his district, replied "I do not know anything of those matters, for at that time I was still in the Po"—meaning that he was not born at the time.

The origin of the primal parents Earth and Sky is often given, as we have noted, in the form of a genealogical table of descent from original chaos. As given by different tribes these differ considerably. Many of these lists of names commence with that of Te Kore. This word *kore* in the vernacular speech is a common negative form, the gerundial form *korenga* denoting non-existence. In Tregear's *Maori Comparative Dictionary* we find: "Kore: the primal power of the Cosmos, the void or negation, yet containing the potentiality of all things afterwards to come." These terms, then, the Po and the Kore, are the ones most often met with in descriptions of the conditions that existed prior to the appearance of the Earth Mother and the Sky Parent.

In many versions each of the conditions, or phases, or aeons of time alluded to as entities, or personifications in these cosmogonies, are given as a series of first to tenth, as in the following:—

Te Kore tuatahi—the first Kore.
Te Kore tuarua—the second Kore.
Te Kore tuatoru—the third Kore.
Te Kore tuawha—the fourth Kore.
Te Kore tuarima—the fifth Kore.
Te Kore tuaono—the sixth Kore.
Te Kore tuawhitu—the seventh Kore.
Te Kore tuawaru—the eighth Kore.
Te Kore tuaiwa—the ninth Kore.
Te Kore tuangahuru—the tenth Kore.
Then—
Te Pu
Te More
Te Aka
Taketake
Te Kune
} First to tenth.

In some versions the Po precedes the Kore, and other names are inserted, as in Tregear's *Maori Dictionary*, at p. 168, and in Shortland's *Maori Religion and Mythology*, p. 12. In Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* we have a different form, which reads thus: "From conception came fullness; from fullness came energy; from energy came thought; from thought came mentality; from the mind came desire." Then, "Inner knowledge bore fruit, and dwelt with twilight, and produces the Po—the enduring, intangible, unseen, unfelt Po." Then the Kore leads on and, in conjunction with Atea (space), produces Rangi (the heavens). Rangi hovered over earth and, in conjunction with the glowing dawn, produced light; also, in conjunction with light rays, produced the sun. The sun was fixed on high as an eye for the heavens, and light became permanent.

In *The History of the Taranaki Coast*, at p. 25, occurs an uncommon version of these recitals, as given by Taranaki natives. It commences with a series of ten Po, after which it differs widely from other versions, and, although it gives the descent of man,

the names of the primal parents, Rangi and Papa (sky and earth), do not appear. At No. 25 of the list of names, however, appears the remark "here the *ira tangata* appears in the World of Life." This expression denotes "human life," life as known to human beings, in contradistinction to *ira atua*, or life as known to supernatural beings.

Some interesting remarks on this subject may be found at p. 111 of vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Canon Stack, in his *South Island Maoris*, makes the usual remark about these natives being "sunk in barbarism," and their philosophical theories evidently belonging to a period of higher mental culture, which need not be taken seriously. But he makes some interesting remarks at p. 91 of his little work concerning Maori cosmogony. Like other writers on the Maori, he was attracted by the native conception of evolution extending over vast periods of time, to culminate at last in Earth and Sky, from whom man is descended. In the version referred to by him eighteen names are given, commencing with Te Kore, and advancing from nothingness through thought and spirit to matter.

Among the Matatua tribes of the Bay of Plenty district a very singular version of these cosmogonic recitals occurs, inasmuch as it is based on the same ideas that, in the Old World, produced the curious myths concerning the cosmogonal tree, world tree, or universe tree. The Maori concept is, apparently, a more primitive form of the myth than those of India, China, Japan, Persia, Chaldea, Egypt, and northern Europe. The study of the cosmic tree is one of considerable interest. The "world pillar" conception is perhaps allied to the foregoing, and is also a Maori belief. The earth is supported in the midst of waters by means of a pillar, which pillar is supported by a basket named Whakatauroa (see *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 3, p. 156). The following is the Matatua recital referred to:—

Te Pu	(Signifies origin, source, root, base, foundation.)
Te More	(Signifies tap-root; also cause (fig.)).
Te Weu	(Signifies rootlet, fibres.)
Te Aka	(Signifies long, thin, roots, stem of climbing-plant.)
Te Rea	(Signifies growth.)
Te Wao-nui	(Signifies primeval forest.)
Te Kune	(Signifies pregnancy, conception, form acquired.)
Te Whe	(Signifies sound, as of creaking of tree branches.)
Te Kore	(Signifies non-existence.)
Te Po	(Signifies night; darkness of the unknown.)

Rangi = Papa (Sky Father and Earth Mother.)

Tane. Tangotango. Wainui.

Here we have a peculiar concept concerning cosmic origins, though possibly Kore (or nothingness) should have been placed at the head of the list, as in other versions. It is, however, here given as recited by old natives to the writer. It will be seen that the first six names are applicable to tree-growth; that the Maori of yore, in striving to picture the origin of earth and sky, has likened it to the growth of a tree, an illustration ever before his eyes. His method then changes, and, form being acquired, sound is introduced. Yet matter does not appear to have been evolved until, from chaos and the unknown, sky and earth appear. The primal parents, from whom all things originated, are now in being. Rangi represents the male element, and Papa the female element. Some authorities explained that each of these phases or personifications are numbered as one to ten, the first Pu to the tenth Pu, and so on as far as Te Po (Te = the; definite article, singular). It is not clear as to whether or not these ten conditions were contemporary, but natives write them as though one begot the other, as a genealogy is written. Some allude to them as "persons"; and one remarked, "Thus there were

one hundred persons from the Pu down to the time when Rangi and Papa appeared." It must not, however, be supposed that any Maori believed that the names represented human beings, but he persists in personifying everything, as is the manner of barbaric man. In the version here given, as recited by old Hamiora Pio, of the Ngati-Awa Tribe, the primal parents, Sky and Earth, had offspring three. Tane is not only the progenitor of man in this version, but also of divers supernatural beings, as shown in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 8, p. 119. Tangotango is the origin of night and day, and produced the heavenly bodies, while Wainui is the personified form of all waters.

The conception of the cosmogonic tree is met with in northern Europe, among the ancient Chaldeans, the Egyptians, Persians, Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese. An Indian myth describes Brahma as the vast overspreading tree of the universe. In Mrs. J. H. Philpot's work, *The Sacred Tree*, occurs the following sentence: "The idea of referring to the form of a tree the apparent conformation of the universe is one of the most natural methods of reasoning which can occur to the savage mind."

Another version of the myth is that each of the names in the foregoing list represents a bisexual being that contained the power of reproduction. These versions are such as are given by what may be termed second-class authorities, men who were acquainted with a considerable amount of tribal lore, as also of the racial myths and beliefs, but who had not been taught the higher-class teachings imparted only to scholars in the *whare wananga*, or *tapu* school of learning.

At p. 109 of vol. 16 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* appears a superior cosmogonic chant obtained by Colonel Gudgeon from Tiwai Paraone, of the Hauraki district. In this high-class production of the neolithic Maori, the barbaric cannibal, we see a fine mythopoetic concept rendered in appropriate language, that may be compared with anything produced by Asiatic mystics, albeit no translation can equal the original. Here we see clearly the inner teachings of the old-time lore of the Maori, for here it is shown that the great Io, the Supreme Being, existed prior to matter of any kind, that he dwelt in space ere the earth was formed, and that it was he who caused the earth to come into being. The composition commences as follows:—

I noho a Io i roto i te aha o te ao
He pouri te ao, he wai katoa
Kaore he ao, he marama, he maramatanga
He pouri kau, he wai katoa.

(Io dwelt in universal space; the universe was in darkness; all was water.
Day was not, nor moon, nor light; darkness alone was; all was water.)

Then the mighty Io called upon light to appear, and light dawned across space. Again he became active and called upon darkness to return: "Let light become darkness possessing"—and again darkness was. A third time he spoke, saying, "Let there be one night above and one below . . . one day above and one below . . . clear day." And then a great light came. He then looked upon the waters around him, and for the fourth time spoke: "Let the restless waters be separated, and the sky be formed"—and the heavens were raised . . . and behold the earth lay below.

After the foregoing comes some explanation, in which the following occurs: "The mandate by which Io formed the world, by means of which the earth was conceived and caused to exist in the universe, those words are met with in the words of the charm employed to cause a child to be conceived, &c." After some interpolations the recital proceeds: "The waters were separated to their proper places, where they still are. The heavens were suspended, possibly but a little distance above the earth, while below lay Papa-tuanuku (the earth)." Then Io caused other beings to come into existence:

Te Aio-nuku.	Te Po-nui.	Tahuhu-nui-a-rangi.
Te Aio-rangi.	Te Po-roa.	Te Po.
Te Aio-papa.	Te Po-whawha.	Te Ao.
Te Aio-matua.	Hine-ruaki-moe.	

Rangi and Papa had issue (1) Tama-a-rangi-tau-ke, who represents the spirits of the dead; (2) Aitua, who represents all misfortune and afflictions; (3) Rongo-ma-tane, who represents the *kumara* (sweet potato) and other food products; (4) Tane, who represents trees and birds; (5) Tawhiri-matea, who represents wind and rain; (6) Ruaimoko, who represents earthquakes; (7) Ngana, the origin of the heavenly bodies; (8) Haumia, who represents *aruhe* (edible rhizomes of *Pteris aquilina* var. *esculenta*); (9) Tu-matauenga, progenitor of man; (10) Tangaroa, origin of fish and reptiles; (11) Pu-whakarere-i-waho, who represents evil and death.

The above is but a partial account of the particular version, but it is a fragment of much interest, giving as it does the origin of light from darkness, of day, night, and the earth from primal chaos and darkness. Above all it shows clearly how the Maori credited Io, the Supreme Being, with the origin of earth and sky, and natural phenomena, as also the supernatural and human descendants of the Sky Father and Earth Mother. This view of Tu, or Tu-matauenga, as the progenitor of man is not the general one; in most cases Tane is said to have been the origin of man. In an account of Maori religion by Colonel Gudgeon published in vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* we are told that Tu did not beget man, but that he made a clay image in human form and endowed it with the breath of life, by grace of his own magic powers. The more commonly accepted version will be given anon.

In his *Maori Religion and Mythology* Shortland writes as follows: "The Maori had no tradition of the Creation. The great mysterious cause of all things existing in the Cosmos was, as he conceived it, the generative Power. Commencing with a primitive state of Darkness, he conceived Po (Night) as a person capable of begetting a race of beings resembling itself. After a succession of several generations of the race of Po, Te Ata (Morn) was given birth to. Then followed certain beings existing when Cosmos was without form, and void. Afterwards came Rangi (Heaven), Papa (Earth), the Winds, and other sky powers, as are recorded in the genealogical traditions preserved to the present time."

If by "Creation" Shortland meant the manufacture of a sort of hand-made world, doubtless the Maori knew nothing about such a performance. He had, however, as we have shown, evolved certain myths which purport to explain the evolution of matter, the development of the earth from the negation of chaos. Again, it is clear that Shortland never grasped the Maori genius for personification. He never realized that, although the Maori deliberately speaks of natural forces as persons, he by no means believed that they were such. He personified such phenomena to simplify his teachings, and in obedience to a very deeply rooted instinct in human nature. To the writer's mind it seems assured that the ancient folk who were responsible for the Book of Genesis followed the same lines of thought as did the Maori. Though Shortland states that the Maori regarded the personifications of conditions that existed prior to the formation of the earth as his ancestors, yet I cannot accept the statement. Such names certainly appear at the head of many genealogies, but the intelligent *tohunga*, or priestly adept, of yore assuredly knew better; it represented his system of teaching, for he knew that the ordinary man must not be expected to readily grasp abstract concepts; he needs something more tangible. One cosmogonic condition or phase resulted in another, until they culminated in Earth and Sky, and one of the supernatural offspring of these primal parents became the progenitor of man. Inasmuch as all the foregoing offspring were of the male sex, woman had to be created from the body of the Earth Mother ere man could be begotten. It is from that first woman that man inherited his mortality, through her that he lost his supernatural status. The earlier names in so-called genealogies, the names of conditions prior to the existence of Earth and Sky, and of the supernatural descendants of that twain, were included in certain Maori ritual because their repetition was held to impart great force and *mana* to any invocation or charm.

The Vedic poets speak of the Power that produced all from chaos by the power of heat. The Maori insisted on the fact that warmth is absolutely necessary to life and growth; two other essentials being air and moisture. He makes the personified form of the sun the progenitor of all animal and vegetable life, and even of stones, &c.

The first volume of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* contains the following cosmogonic myth collected from the Ngai-Tahu folk of the South Island:—

Te Po.
Te Ao.
Te Ao-marama.
Te Ao-turoa.
Kore-te-whiwhia.
Kore-te-rawea.
Kore-te-tamaua.
Kore-te-matua.
Maku = Mahora-nui-atea
|
Rangi = Papa-tuanuku.

Papa-tuanuku is often alluded to simply as Papa, sometimes as Tuanuku, occasionally as Papa-tahuaroa or Tahuaroa.

In this recital the first name denotes "night" or the "unknown"—that is, the night of time. The second may be rendered as "the world," or "day." The third denotes the "world of light," or clear world. The fourth is the "enduring world," an expression applied to this world. We have then four phases of Kore, already noted, and then Maku. If in this latter name the vowels are long, then the name would appear to imply "moisture." This personification mates with Mahora-nui-atea, a peculiar expression denoting a great open expanse, and synonymous with Tahora-nui-atea, both being applied to the vast expanse of the open ocean. These two forms produced Rangi (the sky) who mated with Papa-tuanuku, and their progeny was a numerous one. This version states that Papa was originally the wife of Tangaroa (the origin of fish, pertaining to the deep waters), and that she was taken from him by Rangi. In more generally accepted versions Tangaroa appears as one of the offspring of Rangi and Papa.

The foregoing account, taken from White, is preceded by a singular remark: "The singing of the God began with the Po"—as though, as Tregear says, God had sung the universe into being.

The name of Atea (space personified) appears in some of these narrations. In Colenso's list Atea produces the Po; but it is in Polynesia that Atea occupies an important place, as shown in Tregear's *Maori Dictionary*. At Mangaia Vatea appears as the author of gods and men. His eyes are the sun and moon, and his body is half-human, half-fish. Vatea (or Atea) mated with Papa. (See *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, by the Rev. W. W. Gill; also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 12, p. 144.)

The higher class of priests taught that Io, the Supreme Being, had no progeny, that he begat no form of being, but that he caused the earth and heavenly bodies, and supernatural beings, to come into being by means of his will-power. The inferior orders of *tohunga*, or priestly experts, were not acquainted with the higher teachings, hence they could impart to others merely the common or more popular versions of cosmogonic and other myths. These recitals are of less interest to us on account of their representing a much lower plane of thought, many of them being but puerile conceptions. On the other hand, the higher concept of Io, the High God, and his cult, with the development of the universe at his desire, is of deep interest, and illustrates a high order of mentality attained by the ancestors of the Maori. The ever-present desire of the human mind to ascertain causes has probably occupied an important position in the evolution of the power of thought, the development of human mentality.

An old sage of the Wai-rarapa district, Nepia Pohuhu by name, recited a mass of ancient lore some fifty years ago, and this recital was preserved in written language.

Permission to copy this record was obtained by the present writer, and it provided some highly interesting data, among which occurs the following account of the order in which things were created, or originated: The first things to appear were the ocean waters; then the land appeared, grew and matured, and was mated with by Rangi-nui (personified form of the heavens). Also appeared the heavenly bodies, plant-life of all kinds, and trees, to cover the body of the Earth Mother, and insects, reptiles, animals, birds, as also Hine-ahu-one and Hine-titama. By means of Hine-ahu-one man came into being.

In a cosmogonic recital given by Wi Pere, of Poverty Bay, we have a list of thirteen names down to Rangi:—

Te Pu.	Te Aponga.	Te Popoko-nao (?).
Te Weu.	Te Kune-iti.	Hine-awaawa.
Te More.	Te Kune-roa.	Tamaku.
Te Aka.	Te Popoko-nui.	Rangi-nui-a-Tamaku.
Te Apunga.		

Herein a few new names intrude; of these *apunga* may imply gathering or covering, and *aponga* the heaping or collecting; but it is by no means safe to assign a dictionary meaning to any unusual term employed in these sacerdotal effusions. In this version Rangi is said to have mated with Papa in the first place, and subsequently with Wai-nui-atea, a personified form of the ocean, whose name denotes the vast open expanse of the great ocean. Thus the Sky Parent mated with both Earth and Ocean, and had descendants by both. The line of descent from Wai-nui commences as follows:—

Rangi-nui = Wai-nui-atea.
|
Moana-nui
Moana-roa
Moana-potango
Moana-hakere
Tu-i-te-repo
Tu-i-te-wao
&c.

The first four names may be rendered as "great ocean," "extensive ocean," "dark ocean," and "gloomy ocean"; while the next two apparently refer to swamps and forests. A number of other names of mythical beings, personifications, or conditions occur in these two lines until they merge into genuine human ancestors, who intermarry, and so the line is brought down to persons of the present day. It was such lines of descent as this that were recited in certain ritual in former times, such a recital having, in native belief, a very important effect—that is to say, it possessed great *mana*.

It is probable that the word *atea* in Wai-nui-atea denotes the vast free area of ocean, and is not the Atea, Vatea, and Wakea of Polynesian myth. The latter seem to be connected with light, and probably represent the Maori term *awatea*, meaning "daylight." *Atea* denotes space, open space; and Tregear's idea of "light space" may possibly connect the Maori and Polynesian definitions. In New Zealand Atea, as a personification, has little recognition; but in a cosmogony in genealogical form recorded by the late Mr. John White Atea is No. 18 on the list. In Marquesan myth Atea is a brother of Tane; in Hawaiian myth Wakea (= Atea) and Papa, his wife, created the Hawaiian Isles. At Mangaia Vatea (= Atea) marries Papa and lives in "the bright land of Vatea." The sun and moon are his eyes. In Tahitian mythology Atea is taken to wife by one Rua-tupua-nui, and produces the sun, moon, stars, and comets. The Rev. W. W. Gill collected a Cook Islands version in which Atea, the parent one, took Papa (the earth) to wife, and she produced Te Atu (Te Whatu). This being took many creatures to wife, each of whom is credited with producing a particular species of tree. This word *whatu* denotes the stone or kernel of fruits in Maori. In our local myth it is Tane who begat all trees, and he also was a child of the primal parents, and the universal fertilizer.

The following cosmogonic genealogy is the one recorded by Mr. White:—

Te Kore (signifies nothingness, chaos).
Te Po (signifies night, darkness of unknown).
Te Rapunga (signifies seeking).
Whaia (signifies followed or sought).
Te Kukune (signifies growth).
Te Pupuke (signifies increase, swelling, &c.).
Te Hihiri (signifies desire, energy).
Te Mahara (signifies thought).
Te Hinengaro (signifies mind).
Te Manako (signifies longing, desire).
Te Wananga (signifies occult knowledge).
Te Ahua (signifies form).
Te Atamai (signifies knowing, readiness).
Te Whiwhia (signifies possession, acquisition).
Te Rawea (signifies satisfaction at possession).
Hauora (signifies welfare).
Atea (signifies space).

This list does not explain anything about Atea, or the connection between Atea and Rangi or Papa. We find, however, among Mr. White's unpublished manuscripts the following note: "Rangi and Papa adhered closely to each other. When Watea appeared Rangi was detached and placed on high and Papa was left below. It was Watea who separated the waters that land might appear." Here Watea evidently personifies space; it was Space who separated or came between Sky and Earth.

The following is another such table, connecting in this case with Rangi-nui, the personified form of the heavens:—

Te Pu (signifies origin, cause, root).
Te Weu (signifies rootlets).
Te More (signifies tap-root, cause).
Te Aka (signifies small roots, vines).
Te Tipuranga (signifies growth).
Taketake (signifies base; also firm, lasting).
Te Kune-iti (signifies lesser growth).
Te Kune-rahi (signifies greater growth).
Te Ahunga (signifies forming).
Te Apohanga (signifies collecting).
Te Ngarue (signifies movement).
Te Ngaoko (signifies movement).
Te Piere (signifies fissure).
Te Ngatata (signifies opened or split).
Te Ngawha (signifies burst open).
Te Kiita (signifies firm or fast).
Tamaku-rangi (signifies the second of the twelve heavens).
Rangi-nui (signifies the first of the twelve heavens).

The following cosmogonic genealogy from the Waikato district gives two mythical lines of descent from Whetu (stars), a male and female line, the names in the former denoting different phases, degrees, and dispositions of light, those of the latter similar phases, &c., of darkness. The name of Io seems to appear as that of creator or originator of the stars.

Io

(Female line.) Whetu *(Male line.)*

Te Marama (the moon)	Te Ra (the sun)
Te Po-nui	Te Ao-nui
Te Po-roa	Te Ao-roa
Te Po-papakina	Te Ao-papakina
Te Po-pakarea	Te Ao-pakarea
Te Po-ki-tua	Te Ao-ki-tua
Te Po-ki-roto	Te Ao-ki-roto
Te Po-tawhito	Te Ao-tawhito
Te Po-ruru	Te Ao-ruru
Te Po-aio	Te Ao-aio
Te Po-whero	Te Ao-whero
Te Po-ma	Te Ao-ma
Te Po-pango	Te Ao-pango
Te Po-whakaruru	Te Ao-whakaruru
Te Po-kumea	Te Ao-kumea
Te Po-whakarito	Te Ao-whakarito
Te Po-i-runga	Te Ao-i-runga
Te Po-i-raro	Te Ao-i-raro
Te Po-i-matau	Te Ao-i-matau
Te Po-i-maui	Te Ao-i-maui
Papa-tuanuku =	Rangi-nui

Rongo. Tane. Tangaroa. Tawhiri-matea. Haumia. Ruaimoko. Tu-matauenga.

There are several peculiarities about this version. In the first place it shows the stars as preceding the sun and moon. The arrangement of personified forms of light opposed to others of darkness is also interesting. From the male line, representing light and commencing with the sun, sprang Rangi-nui (the sky). From the female line, commencing with the moon, are derived many forms or phases of the Po, to end in Papa-tuanuku (the earth). These two personifications produced the seven supernatural offspring given in the table. This version is a peculiar one, and may represent a primal struggle between Light and Darkness.

White quotes an old song in which the Wananga (? occult knowledge) mates with Atea to produce the Po.

A line of descent from Rangi and Papa given in vol. 16 of the *Polynesian Journal*, at p. 140, is of an unusual aspect, and the first five names of the mythical portion thereof are such as are found in cosmogonic lines previously given.

Another recital of these names of Te Pu, &c., includes those of Kotipu, Taketake, Te Ngaoko, Te Piere, Te Ngatata, Te Ngawha, and Te Kiita, ere arriving at Tamaku, but we know not what these terms may stand for in this connection. Taking the ordinary dictionary meaning, *kotipu* means "intercepted," perhaps also "destroyed," as a crop by frost; *taketake* means "permanent, firm, long-established," also "the base of anything"; while *ngaoko* means "to stir or move." In *piere* and *ngatata* we have words meaning "a fissure," or "to gape," and "split or open." *Ngawha* means "to burst open," or "to bloom as a flower"; and *kita* means "firmly," as in *mau kita* (firmly bound or fixed). It is by no means safe, however, to rely on these ordinary definitions, for the priestly experts of yore seem to have assigned peculiar sacerdotal meanings to many words. An interesting feature, however, of the list under discussion is that it commences with the name of Uenuku, which precedes that of Te Pu. Uenuku is the personified form of the rainbow, and presumably this version shows that the rainbow was the beginning of all things, or was the original manifestation of Io.

The Rev. J. W. Stack makes the following remarks in a paper on "Maori Literature," published in the *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1891: "It is surprising to find a people sunk in such barbarism as the Maoris at the time they first came into contact with Europeans, possessing such elaborate theories about the origin of all things, theories which contain traces of a philosophy which evidently belonged to a period of higher mental culture. They conceived of the lapse of countless ages before the dawn of light upon the earth. Commencing with Te Kore, or Nothingness, to which they assign an unlimited period, they approach the dawn of life and consciousness on earth through eighteen stages, each stage being a period of myriads of years. . . . In the order of existence the Maoris believed that thought came first, then spirit, and last of all matter." The present writer has but little faith in the theory of decadence referred to, though it seems alluring to many people.

The condition of comparative isolation in which the various tribes of New Zealand have long lived has probably been the cause of the different versions of such myths as the foregoing.

As an illustration of the powers of imagination we may refer to one of these cosmogonic recitals given by Te Meihana, of the Ngati-Whare Tribe. It includes the list of names commencing with Te Pu, and many others, eighty-three in all, and even then had not come down to Rangi and Papa. It would serve no useful purpose to publish this long list of names, most of which are unknown to us; only the men of old who compiled or preserved it could explain what its meaning was.

Some second- and third-class native authorities have given us lines of descent from others of the offspring of the primal parents than Tane. Thus we have such a line from Tangaroa down to natives now living; another from Rongo, and yet others from Tawhiri-matea, &c. Some of these compositions are startling in their disclosures, inasmuch as they assign the period of the primary departmental gods, and the origin of man, to the time of the Saxon occupation of England. One gives a line from Rangi, the Sky Parent, who begets Tangotango, who begets Ra (the sun), who begets Raumati (summer), after whom comes a long list of names implying different phases of heat, of lightning,

of seasons, &c., ere coming to human ancestors. These names doubtless denote personifications. Such recitals as these, however, were not included in the higher teachings.

The Twelve Heavens.

In vol. 1 of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* are given some particulars of a series of ten heavens, as believed in by the Maori of former times. Elsewhere Mr. White has a note on a series of twenty heavens. The Bay of Plenty natives also speak of ten heavens. Probably all the native authorities responsible for these data were but second-class men. A perusal of Mr. White's works shows that he never acquired any knowledge of the true esoteric lore of the Maori, that pertaining to the cult of Io and the superior *whare wananga*, or school of learning. The best matter in the above volumes is that obtained from the Takitumu tribes, occupying the east coast of the North Island from East Cape southward to Cook Strait, detachments of which tribes settled in the South Island. It is a noteworthy fact that these Takitumu tribes have provided the very finest matter concerning the esoteric lore of the Maori that has been recorded. In this respect the Taranaki and northern fields have proved very disappointing. The superior teachings of those areas are lost to us.

In Mangaian myth we also meet with the belief in a series of ten heavens. Some further notes on these ten heavens are given at p. 392 of Tregear's *Maori Dictionary*. The cosmogonic myths of Samoa speak of nine heavens only. The Takitumu tribes, however, have ever taught in their *tapu* school of learning that there are twelve heavens; indeed, the number twelve enters largely into their sacerdotal myths and ritual, as it also did in the Hawaiian Isles. These twelve heavens are referred to as *nga rangi tuhaha* (the bespaced heavens); they are supposed to be arranged in an orderly manner one above the other. Each of these heavens, it was taught, has its own series of heavenly bodies, or luminaries, its sun, moon, and stars, also its clouds and waters. Our luminaries, as seen from our position on the body of the Earth Mother, are those of the first of the twelve heavens (counting upward), the name of which is Rangi-nui-a-Tamaku, but which is often referred to as Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei (the great sky standing above), as Rangi-nui, and often as simply Rangi. This is the Rangi that mated with Papa (the earth), also termed Papa-tuanuku, and sometimes simply Tuanuku.

In some cases different names of Rangi, or names of the different heavens, are inserted in genealogies, preceding the names of human beings, as in the following case:—

Rangi.	Rangi-potango.	Rangi-matua-tini.
Rangi-nui.	Rangi-whatuma.	Te Uira-i-waho.
Rangi-roa.	Rangi-hakere.	Whaitiri-matakataka.
Rangi-pouri.	Tahu-nui-o-rangi.	&c.

Other names of mythical beings carry the line down to known human ancestors who flourished about five hundred years ago. The inclusion of these different Rangi names in genealogies, as also the various names of Tane and Tiki, was distinctly condemned by Maori pundits of the higher class.

The names of the twelve heavens as preserved by the Takitumu folk are as follows, commencing with the uppermost, which is the most important in Maori estimation, it being the residence of Io, the Supreme Being:—

	Secondary Name.
1. Te Toi-o-nga-rangi	Tikitiki-o-rangi.
2. Tiritiri-o-Matangi	Tiritiri-o-rangi.
3. Rangi-naonao-ariki	Rangi-puhi.
4. Rangi-te-wawana	Rangi-te-wiwini.
5. Rangi-nui-ka-tika	Rangi-nui-taupuru
6. Rangi-mataura	Rangi-mataaho.
7. Rangi-tauru-nui	Rangi-tauru-rangi.
8. Rangi-matawai.	
9. Rangi-mairekura.	
10. Rangi-parauri.	
11. Rangi-tamaku.	
12. Rangi-nui-a-Tamaku.	

These are the twelve bespaced heavens, sometimes alluded to as *nga rangi i roherohea e Tane* (the heavens separated by Tane), *nga rangi tuitui a Tane* (the inaccessible heavens of Tane), *nga rangi tokorau a Tane* (the distant heavens of Tane).

We have received no explanation as to the names of the twelve heavens. The names of the uppermost one clearly mean "the summit of the heavens," but as to the other names we have no knowledge as to what they may imply.

We have seen that Io dwells in the uppermost heaven, the most intensely *tapu* of all. In the same region dwell two companies of supernatural beings who act as attendants on the Supreme Being, and carry out his behests. They act as messengers to the eleven lower heavens, and to all other realms of the universe. The names of these various companies, the denizens of the twelve heavens, commencing with the uppermost of the heavens, are as follows: Te Apa-whatukura (the *whatukura* company); Te Apa-mareikura (the *mareikura* company). The first of these is composed of male beings, the second of female beings. The term *apa* is replaced by that of *ropu* when they are spoken of as moving abroad. These beings are extremely *tapu*, and are the only ones who dwell with Io in the Toi-o-nga-rangi, or uppermost heaven. No one of all the denizens of the other eleven heavens can enter this supernal region unless it is so desired by Io, so *tapu* is this realm. But the beings of the uppermost heaven may enter all the eleven other heavens, and also visit Papa (the earth) and Rarohenga (the underworld) whenever they wish to. Also, the denizens of the eleven lower heavens may visit the earth and the underworld.

The denizens of the other heavens are as follows:—

Second heaven	Te Apa-tahurangi. Te Apa-kahurangi.	Eighth heaven	Te Apa-kahu-taranga. Te Apa-kokohine.
Third heaven	Te Apa-rahui-kura. Te Apa-ruao.	Ninth heaven	Te Apa-wahi-rangi. Te Apa-wahi-kura.
Fourth heaven	Te Apa-matangi-nui. Te Apa-mata-ruwai.	Tenth heaven	Te Apa-kauwhata-a-rangi. Te Apa-tangi-kura.
Fifth heaven	Te Apa-kauwhanga. Te Apa-tapuhi-kura.	Eleventh heaven	Te Apa-puhi-rangi. Te Apa-puhi-kura.
Sixth heaven	Te Apa-tahu-nuku. Te Apa-tahu-mutu.	Twelfth heaven	Te Apa-poporokewa. Te Apa-poheua.
Seventh heaven	Te Apa-kautu. Te Apa-tangirea.		

The first of each two companies enumerated is composed of male beings, the second of females. The names of two other companies given, but not located, are—Te Apa-patu-paiarehe; Te Apa-turehu. These names, *patu-paiarehe* and *turehu*, are applied to certain beings supposed to dwell in the forest, and on the summits of high ranges. As to the names of the twenty-four companies of male and female denizens of the twelve heavens, but little can be said as to their meaning. The name *whatukura* has several applications that we shall meet with in this chronicle. *Mareikura* is a term used to denote girls or women of high rank. *Tahurangi* is another name for fairies or forest elves. *Kahurangi* is a term applied to the daughter of an important chief, perhaps only to his eldest daughter, the eldest son being the *ariki*, while *whatukura* is applied collectively to males of high rank; *mareikura* appears to be used collectively also. It is unsafe to remark on the signification of the other names.

We thus see that the Takitumu folk believed in the existence of twelve heavens, in the uppermost of which dwelt Io, the Supreme Being—Io the Parent and Io the Parentless—he who begat no being, but who caused all things to come into being. The lowermost of these twelve heavens is Rangi, the Sky Parent. Far below him lies Papa, the Earth Mother, and below her lies Rarohenga, the underworld. This is the realm of spirits, to which go the spirits of the dead, and where dwells dread Whiro, the personification of darkness, evil, and death.

Now, Rangi looked down upon Papa as she lay facing him far below, and desired her, hence he descended to her and the two mated. And in those days was darkness, for there was no sun, no moon, no stars, clouds, or mist.

The Offspring of Rangi and Papa.

The offspring of the primal parents were numerous, numbering seventy, and all were supernatural beings of the male sex; no beings of the female sex were born to the primal parents. The denizens of the twelve heavens were not born, but seem to have come into existence through the will of Io. They also are all supernatural beings, hence, like the offspring of Rangi and Papa, they are termed *atua*. They represent the *ira atua* (the supernatural phase of life), even as we of this world represent the *ira tangata* (human life, life as known to us mortals).

The following is a list of the names of the seventy offspring of Rangi and Papa, the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother:—

Uru-te-ngangana (origin of heavenly bodies).
Roiho.
Roake.
Haepuru.
Haematua.
Whiro-te-tipua (personifies darkness, evil, death).
Tawhiri-matea (personifies winds).
Tangaroa (origin of fish; a controller (with Rona) of tides).
Kiwa (lord of the Ocean).
Te Ihorangi (personified form of rain).
Tu-matauenga (departmental deity of war).
Te Ikaroa (the Milky Way).
Raka-maomao (personifies the south).
Rongo-maraeroa (origin or personified form of *kumara* and of peace).
Tawhiri-rangi (personifies winds).
Rua-taumata.
Rongomai-waho.
Tiwhanui.
Punaweko (origin and personification of land-birds).
Mauhi.
Hurumanu (origin and personification of sea-birds).
Kaukau.
Te Kuwatawata (guardian of entrance to spirit-world).
Takaaho.
Rongo-huakai.
Rongo-whakaata.
Timutahi.
Uepoto.
Peketua (origin of reptiles and insects).
Rangahua (origin of stones, &c.).
Kekerewai.
Kaupeka.
Toro-i-waho.
Te Akaaka-matua.
Te Mamaru.
Tawhana.
Rangaranga-ihi-matua.
Mawakenui.
Te Arawaru (origin of shell-fish).
Tukapua (personifies clouds).
Hokahoka.
Tongatonga (see "Tangotango," under "Sun-myths").
Tumata-tawera.
Tama-te-uira (personifies lightning).
Tane-te-hokahoka (personifies birds).
Te Pu-whakahara.
Parauri (connected with birds).
Te Ra-kura (honorific name of the sun).
Tanga-i-waho.
Rauru-matua.
Uruao.
Kewa.
Taka-urunga.
Rongomai-tahanui.
Takatua.
Paerangi.
Rongomai-whakateka (second name Whitiwhiti-karana).
Taiepa.
Tuamatua (origin of rock, stones, &c.).
Uenuku-rangi (personifies lightning).
Nganangana-a-rangi.
Rongomai-taha-rangi.
Tumata-kaka.
Turamarama-a-nuku.
Tumata-rauiri.
Rongomai-tu-waho.
Tumata-huki.
Tane (the Fertilizer; personified form of the sun).
Tupai.
Ruaumoko, or Whakaruaumoko (origin of earthquakes).

Another version gives Tiwhaia in place of Tawhana. The first name on the list, Uru-te-ngangana, probably represents some phase of light; *ngangana* bears the meaning of "ruddy" or "glowing." In one myth this being is said to have mated with one Hine-turama, and to have produced the heavenly bodies; though Te Ra-kura (the red sun) appears in the list of the offspring of the primal parents above. If *uru* in this

name carries its common meaning of "west," then the name would denote the red or gleaming west — that is, the setting sun. This Uru-te-ngangana joined Whiro in the underworld, as a friend of Darkness and foe of Tane (Light), but afterwards came back to this world and joined Tane. At p. 68 of vol. 20 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* appear some remarks on this double name, in which it is said to represent fire. This statement can scarcely be said to have been proved; it is possible that it stands for "primal heat," from which the sun emanated. The old Maori teachers insisted on the importance of heat and moisture in connection with the origin of life, and its continuance. With regard to the name of Hine-turama, the word *turama* is connected with light; as a verb it means "to impart light, to give light to"; as an adjective it means "light, illuminated"; thus Hine-turama is the Light Maid, the Illuminator, a most suggestive name. She was the daughter of Tane (the sun). The expression *ao turama* is occasionally employed as a synonym for *ao marama*, meaning the world or realm of light and life—this world we live in.

In Whiro-te-tipua (or tupua), or Whiro the Demon, we have an important being, he being the personified form of darkness, evil, and death. For all time he has been the active enemy of Tane, who personifies light and life. Ever they wage war, for Whiro is ever striving to destroy the descendants of Tane (man). We shall hear much of Whiro in this chronicle.

Other versions give different names to the offspring of Rangi and Papa. It would be tedious to include all these variant forms of a myth, and the above is one of the most consistent. A version published by Colonel Gudgeon gives Tama-rangi-tau-ke and Aitua as two of such offspring. The latter personifies misfortune and all ills that man is heir to, while the former is said to represent the spiritual nature of man. The same paper gives Te Makoirangi and Po-whakarere-i-waho as offspring of Rangi and Po, the latter evidently a personification. From Makoirangi have sprung all forest elves, and from Po-whakarere come death and forgetfulness, also Arohirohi, the personified form of quivering heat.

Tawhiri-matea and Tawhiri-rangi are personified forms of the winds of space; the former was appealed to by voyagers. Tangaroa stands as the origin and personification of all fish, and was appealed to by fishermen. Tangaroa is one of the most important of the departmental gods, and is known in many isles of Polynesia. Kiwa is the lord and guardian of the ocean, which is called the Great Ocean of Kiwa (*Te Moana nui a Kiwa*). He is said to have taken to wife one Hine-moana, the Ocean Maid, who is the personified form of the ocean. Te Ihorangi is the personified form of rain. Tu-matauenga is another of the important departmental gods; he presides over the art of war. Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, and Rongo are known to many divisions of the Polynesian folk. Ikaroa is probably the Milky Way, that being one of its many names. Raka-maomao represents the south, while Te Potiki a Raka-maomao (The Child of Raka-maomao) is a name for the south wind.

Rongo-maraeroa represents the *kumara* or sweet potato, a cultivated food product highly esteemed in former times. He also represents peace. Punaweko is the origin of birds. Te Kuwatawata is the guardian of the entrance to the spirit-world. Rangahua was the origin of various forms of stone, and Te Arawaru of shell-fish. Tongatonga is connected with the heavenly bodies, and is alluded to as the parent of Matariki (the Pleiades). Tama-te-uira represents lightning. Tane-te-hokahoka was one of the origins of birds, and Te Pu-whakahara one of the producers of trees. Parauri was the parent or origin of the *tui*, a bird; and Te Ra-kura is one of the names for the sun. Tuamatua represents rock and stones.

Ruaumoko is the cause of earthquakes. His second name was Whakaruaumoko. "Now, Whakaruaumoko was still suckling at the time when the forefront of the mother was turned downward, hence the child was left by his elder brother to go with his

mother to the *muriwai hou ki Rarohenga* (the descent to the spirit-world). Hence a last-born child is termed a *pekepoho* child (a self-extolling child), and hence we have here the origin of volcanoes and earthquakes. Consider the case of Tane and Paia, who were of the younger members of that family; they themselves were the famous members of that family; hence that saying became permanent, 'self-extolling last-born; degeneration-causing last-born.' Ruaumoko remained with Papa the Earth Mother. When Tane separated the parents, and the face of the mother was turned downward to the underworld, Ruaumoko accompanied the mother. Hence he became hostile towards us; hence earthquakes are felt; hence volcanoes erupt. These manifestations are those of Ioio-whenua, Hine-tuoi, Hine-tuarangaranga, Te Kuku, Te Wawau, Tawaro-nui, and others, all of which are names of volcanic phenomena."

The following is another account of Ruaumoko:—

Whakaruaumoko was one of the offspring of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother. This child was not born when the separation of the primal parents took place, hence he remained within the body of the Earth Mother. The wife of Whakaruaumoko was fetched from this world. A report had reached him that a certain woman of the upper world, Te Hinutohu, sister of Tangaroa, was a great beauty; when she laughed, her teeth gleamed white as the down of the albatross. The pursuits of that woman were singing and the chanting of high-class ritual; she was the bearer of the sacred fire of Tangaroa. Such was the report concerning Te Hinutohu that reached Whakaruaumoko, and hence he went forth to seek her. He proceeded to Paehuakai, a ridge from which the village at Te Kapu-kaiwhara could be seen, and from where he looked down upon the home of Tahuanini. He then proceeded upward until he reached the doorway of the house of Te Kuwatawata, where he called out, "O Wata! Allow me to pass upward." Te Kuwatawata said, "The underworld has been reserved as an abode for you and your elder brethren." The reference was to Whiro-nui, Tau-te-ariki, Roiho, Taupuru, Ruakopito, Tawhao-nui, Kaupeka, Tawhiri-nuku, Tawhiri-wanawana, Mokotiti, Mokotata, and others very numerous, a vast multitude. Whakaruaumoko called out, "The upper world approaches, the lower world ascends; let me proceed." The door of the house was drawn aside, whereupon he entered and appeared in this world. He now assumed the form of an owl, and proceeded onward until he arrived at the base of the fortified village, where he halted and heard the inmates of the house dancing and singing. He also heard the name of Te Hinutohu mentioned, and a remark comparing the singing to smoothly flowing water; hence Whakaruaumoko knew that this was the woman of whom he had heard. He listened to the fine voice singing, which seemed, as it were, to transport him. When the people were asleep Whakaruaumoko entered the house, where the watchman was asleep beneath the window. The name of the house was Hui-te-ananui, the same being adorned with carvings; the carved work inside this house being famous, while those on outside parts were not remarkable. The figure adorning the gable was Manu-hauturuki, the daughter of Rua-te-pupuke. The name of the village was Poutiriao, and that of the fortified place was Te Pakaroa.

Whakaruaumoko then recited a charm to cause the woman to dream, and, stretching forth his hand, touched the big toe of her foot, as he repeated his charm. (In this charm he called upon Te Hinutohu to accompany him to the underworld by the way which Mataora had traversed, though we are shown that Mataora flourished three generations after the time of Te Hinutohu. These contradictions and discrepancies are not uncommon in Maori myth and tradition.)

When Whakaruaumoko had repeated his charm he went outside and recited another to affect Matikotai, in the corner of the house, which is the place of a watchman, and so caused him to sleep soundly. Whakaruaumoko then proceeded to the entrance of the village, and saw Te Hinutohu approaching, whereupon they departed together and proceeded to his home in the underworld. The woman now awoke (recovered from the effect of the spell) and so became the wife of Whakaruaumoko.

Here we have the origin of the *parangeki* (spirits) who appear in this world and return again, these being the only folk who are able to descend to the underworld and return to this world. If those folk are seen in this world, then such is a token of coming trouble sent by Te Hinutohu. The only woman of this world who ever entered the underworld in the flesh was Te Hinutohu; while Mataora was the only male. (See Addenda 1 and 2.)

Ruaumoko made common cause with Whiro as against mankind, and still continues active. Ever he strives to destroy man, hence he causes earthquakes and volcanic disturbances.

Now, Paia had aforetime said to Tane, "I am assailed by sympathy with regard to our young brother Ruaumoko; let us take him from the breast of our mother and care for him ourselves." But Tane said, "That we cannot do; let him remain there to warm the breast of our mother." Paia then proposed that Ruaumoko be provided with fire, and so the *ahi komau* was given to him. This is the fire of the underworld that occasionally appears on earth, as during volcanic eruptions. It is called the *ahi tahito*.

The Earth Mother and Her Children.

Mr. E. O. James has written: "The Greek legends suppose that in the beginning heaven and earth, regarded as husband and wife, were indissolubly united, and between them they begat gods, who never saw the light." This was the precise condition of the offspring of Rangi and Papa. They dwelt in darkness within the body of the Earth Mother in the first place, and after birth they abode in gloom between the bodies of Rangi and Papa, for dim light alone was known; the body of the Sky Parent lay upon the form of the Earth Mother. Their children clung to the sides of Papa and lay within her armpits, and the period of labour of Papa continued for six Po (nights or periods of time), named as follows:—

Te Po-tamaku. }
Te Po-kakarauri. } These three names differ in another and foregoing version.
Te Po-aoao-nui. }
Te Po-uriuri.
Te Po-kerekere.
Te Po-tiwhatiwha.

Four of the six qualifying terms here applied to Po denote phases of gloom and darkness. Within the body of the Earth Mother the seventy young moved and assumed many attitudes and positions.

Such was the condition of the offspring as their parents embraced each other. There was no day and night to them, for all was darkness. Then, at a certain time, one Moko-huruhuru (some kind of phosphorescent worm) was the cause of the first sign of light being visible, a feeble glimmer of light known as the *maramatanga tuaiti*. That phase of light is represented in this world by the glow-worm seen at night.

The time now came when the children of the Earth Mother were to emerge from her body into the light of day. Uepoto was the first to pass through the passage known as the *ara namunamu ki taiao*. He was delighted by the aspect of the outside world, where gentle breezes wafted to him the fragrance of the earth. So he crept back under the armpits of his parent and told his brothers of the desirable realm without. He said, "The pleasant region is without, where to my nostrils came the cool and gentle breeze." And now the movements made by the children to escape from the embrace of their parents became more strenuous, though some did not wish to leave the haven known as the *ahuru* (the womb is poetically termed the *ahuru mowai*, or calm haven). Their parents now firmly closed their armpits to prevent the escape of their offspring. The children saw faint rays of light, however, that appeared between the bodies of their parents, and said, one to the other, "Behold, of a truth the report

of Uepoto was accurate; the realm of beauty and desire lies without." The desire to escape now became strong within them.

It was about this time that Te Ihorangi (personified form of rain) left his girdle, named the *ruruku o te rangi*, on the body of the Earth Mother, and, on going to recover it, he found that it had taken root. Such was the origin of the growth of hair on the body of the Earth Mother, which is now represented by the *aka tororaro* and other forms of creeping-plants.

Papa the Earth Mother was now in grievous pain, caused by the restless movements and trampling of her offspring. Io-matua (Io the Parent) in the twelfth heaven dimly heard the moaning of the Earth Mother, and spake to Rehua and Ruatau (two of the *whatu kura*, or male attendants): "The voice of Tuanuku faintly reaches me; she moaneth; go ye two and question her." They descended and said to Papa-tuanuku, "The sound of your moaning and groans has been faintly heard by Io-matua." Said Papa, "I am in pain, caused by the restless actions of my offspring." Rehua and Ruatau remarked, "Suffer your offspring to come forth and move abroad, to clamber on to the back of their parent Rangi, and there freely roam." But Papa replied, "Not so, lest they be pierced by cold and discomfort." They then addressed Rangi, the Sky Parent: "Allow your offspring to come forth, to clamber on to your back, there to roam and dwell." Rangi-nui replied, "Let them bide within, lest they become dispersed, and so lost to us." Hence the twain returned to Tikitiki-o-rangi and related to Io-nui (Great Io) the remarks of Papa and of Rangi. And Io spake: "Trouble will come to the children."

The principal causes of the uneasiness of the offspring were the lure of the dim outer light, the report of Uepoto, the radiant light of the eyes of Rehua, and the objectionable effects of being between their embracing parents.

Now, the suffering of Tuanuku when visited by Rehua and Ruatau is represented in this world by our women when with child. The child moves and struggles until it is born. The mother feels the movements, experiences pain, and moans. Such was the condition of Papa.

(Readers will note the curious discrepancies that appear in recitals of Maori traditions and sacerdotal lore. Here the offspring of the primal parents are alluded to as lying between the bodies of their parents. In other passages they are shown to be still within the womb of the Earth Mother, and so yet unborn. Other such conflicting statements may be noted.)

The desire of Tane and Paia that they should emerge from the embrace of their parents now became fixed. Some of the children consented to such a movement, others did not. Said Uepoto, "Let us pass through between the legs of our mother, and so emerge." To this proposal Tane and his companions agreed, and the following then came forth:—

Tane.	Te Akaaka-matua.	Uepoto.	Toro-i-waho.
Tu-matauenga.	Tama-te-uira.	Tawhiri-matea.	Tukapua.
Tangaroa.	Uruao.	Kiwa.	Rauru-matua.
Te Ihorangi.	Rongomai-tahanui.	Te Ikaroa.	Kewa.
Rongo-maraeroa.	Tumata-rauiri.	Tawhiri-rangi.	Taiepa.
Rua-taumata.	Tupai.	Punaweko.	Tumata-huki.
Te Kuwatawata.			

These were the members of the offspring that came forth in the first place; the others would not consent to leave the embrace of their parents. But after Tane and others had emerged, Uru-te-ngangana and his brethren yearned for Tane and others who had come forth, hence they also emerged. The names of these were:—

Uru-te-ngangana.	Haematua.	Hurumanu.	Tawhana.
Roiho.	Raka-maomao.	Rongo-whakaata.	Mawakenui.
Roake.	Tiwhanui.	Timutahi.	Tongatonga.
Haepuru.	Mauhi.	Te Mamaru.	Tumata-tawera.

After Uru and his companions had come forth, Te Paerangi remarked to Whiro, "I yearn for our elder brothers; let us also go forth." At this Whiro-te-tipua was annoyed, and said to Te Paerangi, "Then go, you and your elder and younger brothers, go forth and be assailed by cold and fearsome beings. And do not return hither, lest I strip the skin off your heads wherewith to fashion an apron for myself." At once these others came forth :—

Te Paerangi.	Kekerewai.	Peketua.
Takaaho.	Kaukau.	Te Arawaru.

Then Whiro became deeply angered, and said to Te Paerangi, "I will never allow you to return hither."

On joining Uru and the others, Te Paerangi repeated the remarks of Whiro as to scalping his brothers. Uru-te-ngangana remarked, "What of it? Let him be, to come forth when so inclined."

As time wore on, Uru and Tane despatched Rangahua and Te Paerangi to call to Whiro to leave the embrace of their parents. They went so far as the armpits of their mother, and called out, "O Whiro! Come forth!" Whiro inquired, "Who are ye who thus call?" Rangahua replied, "It is I, Rangahua, and Paerangi." Whiro called up to them, "*Mauri oho, mauri takina*, Your heads will suffer ere long." Te Paerangi answered, "Remain there and be assailed by discomfort and cold."

At this juncture Whiro became enraged, and came in pursuit of Rangahua and Te Paerangi. The latter escaped, but Whiro caught Rangahua and stripped the skin off the top of his head, to be used as an apron for himself, an act that gave deep offence to Uru and his younger brothers. Now, this scalping act of Whiro was the origin of baldness in man.

The Separation of Rangi and Papa.

Whiro heard that Tane, Paia, and Tu-matauenga had resolved to separate their parents, hence he inquired of Uru-te-ngangana, "Have you consented?" Uru replied, "I have not yet done so." Said Whiro, "Do not consent; not until I have arranged for you so to do."

After this all the offspring of Papa escaped from the embrace of their parents, except Ruaumoko, who was still suckling his mother, he being the latest-born. The name given by them to the outer world, outside the bodies of their parents, at that time, was Tahora-nui-a-Ruatau. This word *tahora* implies a great open expanse, and is applied to both land and water. At this time it must be understood there was no sun, no moon, no stars; hence there was no light save the feeble glimmer of the glow-worm and phosphorescent matter, as personified in Moko-huruhuru and Hinatore. This condition of things was known as the *ao taruaitu*.

Tane and Paia, with their companions, now pondered over the unpleasant conditions under which they lived, the dampness and cold, and Tane bethought him of a project by which their parents might be separated. Uru-te-ngangana and the others heard of this project to separate Rangi and Papa; some agreed to it, others did not. This caused a division, some of the offspring joining Tane and Paia, while others made common cause with Uru and Whiro. Whiro objected to the separation because of the decision to leave the embrace of their parents, and also on account of the unpleasant conditions of life in the outer world, the suffering from cold. He also objected to the attitude of Tane and Paia in taking a prominent part in affairs, in assuming the position that it was for them to effect the separation of their parents. Whiro maintained that he and Uru, Roiho, Roake, Haepuru, and Haematua should control the matter, they being the elder brothers.

Tane came to hear of the opinions of his elder brothers, and said to Rongo-maraeroa and Tawhiri-matea, "This is a beclouded realm; the world of light is beyond. Let us

separate our father." This was agreed to, and these are the brothers who took part in the separation of their parents:—

Tane.	Rongomai-waho.	Punaweko.	Peketua.
Paia.	Te Ihorangi.	Mauhi.	Te Akaaka-matua.
Tu-matauenga.	Te Ikaroa.	Te Kuwatawata.	Tukapua.
Rongo-maraeroa.	Roiho.	Takaaho.	Tongatonga.
Tawhiri-matea.	Roake.	Rongo-whakaata.	Tumata-wera.
Tangaroa.	Haepuru.	Uepoto (that is to say, Ewerau).	Tama-te-uira.
Kiwa.	Haematua.		
Rua-taumata.	Tiwhaia.		

The majority of the seventy brothers did not consent, on account of a feeling of sympathy with their father and mother.

Tane now said to Paia and Uruao, "Go forth and obtain four poles with which to prop up our father; let there be one for the head, one for each arm, and one for the legs. You will obtain them from Kohaonui and Kohaoroa at Tihi-o-Manono, at Parinui-te-ra, at Maunganui-o-tawa."

We are told that this incident occurred long after the offspring had left the embrace of their parents; that they now had children and grandchildren, all of whom are said to have been supernormal beings. They are personified forms of natural phenomena and products.

Paia obtained from Uru-te-ngangana the two *tapu* stone adzes called Te Awhiorangi and Whironui, with which to cut the poles. It was now decided that Kaupeka, one of the seventy brethren, be slain in order to provide the necessary fittings for the adzes. His legs were to be used as handles, his intestines as lashing-material, and the top of his skull as a protection for the lashings. Tu-matauenga was the slayer of Kaupeka.

The cutting of the poles was done by Kohaonui and Kohaoroa in sadness, for they were cutting down the Whanau-puhi (the Wind Children). These children were the descendants of Te Ihorangi (one of the brethren) and Huru-te-arangi, who produced all the winds. Even so were the four poles procured, the names of which were—

Toko-huru-nuku.	Toko-huru-mawake.
Toko-huru-rangi.	Toko-huru-atea.

And these represent the four winds. Toko-huru-mawake (east wind) was placed in position under the head of Rangi, Huru-atea under his legs, Huru-nuku under his left arm, and Huru-rangi under his right arm.

After the poles were procured Tane sent Paia, Uruao, Tama-kaka, and Tuamatua to fetch the *tapu* stone adzes, which were conveyed to the *turuma* of Irihia, where the *pure* ceremonial was performed over them.

When Rangi was thrust upward he clutched hold of Papa, who also clasped him. Their offspring strove to separate them, but as they released a hand from one part it instantly obtained a fresh hold elsewhere. Then Tane called upon Tu-matauenga and Tumata-kaka and Te Akaaka-matua to cut off the arms of Rangi and Papa. Thus their arms were severed; hence the red appearance of the *papakura* (red glow) in the heavens, from which auguries are drawn; and hence the eyes of his descendants ever turn to look upon the face and forefront of Rangi in order to seek favourable or ominous signs. As for the blood of Papa, it entered the earth—that is, herself—where it is found in the form of red ochre and *pukepoto* (vivianite), and these serve as means of adorning her descendants, their houses and villages. Hence the ochre and *pukepoto* are termed *tuhi mareikura* when employed for the adornment of high-born folk.

Rangi having been thrust upward, Paia took from him the implements for generating sacred fire, the *kaunoti* and *hika*, the names of which were Te Rangi-tiramarama and Torotoro-ihi, and which had been suspended from the neck of Rangi. These implements

were brought down; the *kaunoti* was kept in position by the right foot, and the *hika* (rubbing-stick) was operated, the following ritual being recited:—

He uri, he pia nou, e Rangi . . . e
Tenei au ka turuki, e Rangi . . . e
Tenei au he tipua, he tawhito nau, e Rangi . . . e.
Uea to uru kia tika
He uru tawhito, he uru tipua
Nou, e Rangi-tamaku
Rangi e, he ueue tika
He ueue tawhito, he ueue tipua,
Ki te ao taruaitu, ki te ao tariwai
Ki te ao ka wheau atu
Ki Tikitiki o rangi . . . e . . . i.
Ko te ueue tawhito, ko te ueue tipua,
Ko te ueue nuku, ko te ueue rangi
Ko te ueue atua nau
E Io mata ngaro . . . e . . . i.
Tenei au, e Rangi, kei te wehe tua
Kei te wehe tuatea, kei te wehe tuauri
Kei te wehe aronui i a koe, e Rangi, e.
Ki te uru ao, ki te uru hau, ki te uru matangi
Ki aua atua, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tenei to ara, e Rangi
He ara no nga tawhito
He ara no nga tipua
He ara atua no Io matua
Ko hau te winiwini
Ko hau te wanawana
Ko hau te piere nuku, te piere rangi
E Rangi . . . e . . . i.
To ara, e Rangi, kei te uru tu
Kei te uru taketake, kei te uru ora
I tamaua ki te kauru nui
Ki te kauru tipua
Ki tipuaki o Rangi-tamaku
Ki te kauru ora, e Io mata ngaro . . . e . . . i.
Tenei, e Rangi
He kauru kaukau nui, he kauru kaukau roa
He kauru kaukau tawhito, he kauru kaukau tipua
He kauru kaukau no te pu, no te weu,
No te aka titamaua ki a koe, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Hapai ake nei au i to ara, e Rangi
He ara te whaia, he ara te haruru
He ara te keukeu, he ara te ngatoro
Ki te puwawa no Aitupawa, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.

Tahia, tahia te papa nui, te papa roa
Te papa tiketike nuku, te papa tiketike rangi
Te papa te makeukeu, te papa te oioi
Ki te pu te winiwini, ki te pu te wanawana
Ki a koe, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tenei au, e Rangi, kei te pu i whiria
Kei te pu i tamaua, kei te pu haohao nui
Kei te pu haohao roa, kei te pu haohao tipua.
Kei te pu haohao tawhito
Kei te pu akaaka na Tane, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tenei taku ahi ko te ahi na Rehuanui
Na Rehuaroa, na Ruaumoko
I te hiringa matua
I te hiringa tawhito na Tumata-kaka
Na Whiro te tupua manatu.
Ko te ahi na Ue-iorangi
He ahi ka tu, he ahi ka tau
He ahi ka toro, he ahi tipua nau, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Hapai ake nei au i to kauru ora
E Rangi whakarewaia ki runga
He hapainga nuku, he hapainga rangi
He hapainga matua,
He hapainga tipua naku, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tangi te piere nui, tangi te piere roa,
Tangi te piere kei nga rangi tuhaha,
Kei te Tihi-o-Manono
Hekeheke nui, hekeheke roa
Ki tuiri, tuiri taketake
Tuiri te take, tuiri kita
Putiki nou, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tenei te whakamau atu nei
I a koe, e Rangi
Ki te pu, ki te weu,
Ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama,
Ki te rakerakenga tawhito rangi,
Ki te rakerakenga tipua rangi,
Ki te rakerakenga ue nuku, ue rangi
Ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama nou
E Rangi . . . e . . . i.

Such was the ritual chanted during the separation of Rangi and Papa. It is a very old and cryptic formula that would need much explanation from the old-time priestly experts ere any translation could be made. The object of the recital is not explained in any manner clear to us, though it is followed by the sentence—"*Ko taua karakia . . . he karakia no te koronga o te whanau rangi; he uru whenua, he iho taketake taua karakia.*" which contains two archaic expressions that I do not believe any native now knows the meaning of.

The kindling of a special fire by means of friction, as mentioned in the chant "Here is my fire, the fire of Rehuanui, of Rehuaroa, of Ruaumoko," was an act often performed in conjunction with *tapu* ceremonial in former times.

The above *karakia*, or ritual, having been employed at the separation of Sky and Earth, has since been used by man as a divorce ritual, when a man and his wife are to be separated. Such a charm or invocation is called a *toko*, in memory of the act of thrusting up the heavens.

At this period, we are told, the offspring were still dwelling in gloom—such gloom as the owl, bat, and certain insects ever dwell in.

It now came about that certain of the brothers now chose separate abodes; they separated into three groups. Uru-te-ngangana, Whiro, and their companions dwelt within their house called Tu-te-aniwaniwa, which is said to have been a *puwhenua*, or cave. This is intelligible, for these are the brothers who decided to continue to dwell within the Earth Mother; their home is a subterranean one. They were afterwards spoken of as dwelling in the underworld.

Tane and his companions abode within their own house, known as Huaki-pouri; it was named after the circumstance of their emerging from the gloomy realm between the bodies of their parents.

Rongo-maraeroa and Tangaroa dwelt in their house Wharau-rangi, the principal part of which house (realm) was Rangitatau. It is said that all these abodes were subterranean —a form of cave-dwelling—and these places were exceedingly cold. That cold emanated from their mother, and it was such cold as a dead person of this world possesses.

Tane and Paia receive New Names.

At a certain time Rehua and Ruatau, two of the attendants of Io in the uppermost heaven, descended to Maunganui (great mountain) and called to Paia to go to them. When he arrived Rehua inquired, "In what condition are the offspring of Rangi living?" Paia replied, "In cold and discomfort, in seeking and anxiety, and separation." Rehua asked, "Where is Tane?" and Paia answered, "Within Huaki-pouri, in the sheltered haven he dwells." Then Rehua said, "Go! Tell Tane that you two are to ascend Maunganui."

So Tane and Ruatau ascended Maunganui, whereupon they were conveyed to the waterside, where the *pure* rite was performed over them, and after that the ceremonial termed *tohi*, whereby Tane received the important title of Tane-nui-a-Rangi, while upon Paia was bestowed the name of Tupai. Rehua and Ruatau then returned to Tikitiki-o-rangi, the abode of Io. Prior to their departure they told Tane and Paia that, when they returned to Papa-tuanuku, they should protect and cherish all living beings as companions for themselves.

The Overturning of the Earth Mother.

After the separation of Rangi and Papa they were seen to be ever weeping and wailing for each other. All space was filled with clouds and mist; the tears of Rangi fell ceaselessly—that is to say, the rain; the mist that was caused by the weeping of Papa ever rose. Rain, snow, and hail ever fell, and the offspring were much distressed. It was now resolved that the Earth Mother be turned over with her face down to Raro-henga, the underworld. With her went Ruaumoko, the last-born, who was still suckling the Earth Mother. This overturning of the Earth Mother was known as the *hurihanga a Mataaho*. It seems to be sometimes referred to as a flood, but our *whare wananga* lore does not support this. Mataaho is said to be one of the names of Io, who is sometimes styled Io-mataaho; one version states that he ordered that Papa should be turned over, that the Earth Mother might no longer be pained by gazing upon the form of Rangi. Hence it is clear that we of this world are dwelling upon the back of the Earth Mother.

After Papa had been overturned, her children at once commenced to trample on her back while it was still warm and soft, hence the rough condition of the earth's surface at the present time—hence the hills, ranges, mountains, and valleys. This name of the Earth Mother, Papa, signifies anything flat, broad, or outspread, as a rock or earth surface. One of her titles is Papa-tuanuku, another is Papa-matua-te-kore, or Papa the Parentless. She is sometimes alluded to as Tuanuku.

As in other mythological systems, the Maori ever speaks of the parentless earth as the kindly Earth Mother. She it was who gave birth to man—that is to say, his

progenitors; she provides him with food, and again shelters his body when death comes to him. She is described as the passive agent, the *whare moenga*, the receptive female element acted on by the fertilizing-power represented by Tane. Papa is always alluded to, naturally, as being in a recumbent position, and one of her names is Papa-tiraha; this word *tiraha* meaning "face upwards." We are also told that Papa-tuoi, or Hine-oi, Papa-tiraha, Te Kuku, and Pu-mairekura are names personifying volcanic disturbances and earthquakes.

The Maori taught that all things sprang from the primal parents, Rangi and Papa, through their offspring, the seventy supernormal male beings. All life and all things on earth, and in the ocean, also the heavenly bodies, all originated from Rangi and Papa.

In Hindu belief the generative or male principle, the female principle, and mind all proceeded from the Supreme Spirit; by these the universe was produced.

Although the sons of Rangi and Papa are said to have been supernatural beings, yet we have already seen that Kaupeka was slain by his brothers, so that, apparently, the gods of the Maori can be put to death. The following myth, however, probably refers to the human descendants of the primal parents:—

With regard to the death of the sons of Rangi and Papa: Rangi the Sky Parent said to the Earth Mother, "Let us dispose of our offspring between our bodies." But Papa replied, "Not so. Leave them to me. Let them return to rest within me. I brought them forth to the world of life; let them come back and rest with me as spiritual children for us. Though they rebelled against us, yet are they still my children. Enough for me is the company of the dead." Hence to this day we see man, when struck down by death, ever buried within the body of the Earth Mother.

The Origin of Light.

As in most primitive cosmogonies, including that ancient Asiatic example borrowed by Christianity, we observe that, in Maori myth, darkness was the original condition of the universe. The only form of light known at the time the Earth Mother brought forth her offspring was the feeble glow emanating from the glow-worm. After the liberation or escape of the children of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother, stronger forms of light were, one after another, acquired, until at last Tane introduced the heavenly bodies and gave to the universe the strong and final phase of light, that of the sun. This is *te maramatanga o te ao tu roa* (the light of the enduring world).

Maori myth shows that Light sprang from Darkness. Whiro, one of the seventy male offspring of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother, is the personified form of darkness, evil, and death, and in one version his son is Tongatonga, who takes to wife one Moe-ahuru and begets the sun, moon, and stars. Thus was Light born of Darkness.

The following phases or forms of light were communicated by Rihari Tohi, and are met with, together with some others, in Maori cosmogonic myths:—

(1.) *Te maramatanga namunamu ki taiao.*—This was the dim, feeble glimmer emanating from Moko-huruhuru, or Hine-huruhuru, the glow-worm. This was the very first phase of light known.

(2.) *Te maramatanga taruaitu.*—The faint light made known by Uepoto when he emerged from the body of the Earth Mother.

(3.) *Te maramatanga kakarauri.*—The form of light that obtained after the separation of the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother. A dim, dusky light.

(4.) *Te maramatanga atarau.*—The form of light known when the heavens were fixed on high, and the Earth Mother turned face down to Rarohenga, the lower world.

(5.) *Te maramatanga aoao nui.*—A wintry form of light.

(6.) *Te maramatanga tuarea.*—Cloudless light.

(7.) *Te maramatanga taiahoaho.*—Summer light.

Other names given for the light that obtained when earth and heaven were separated are *tahora nui o Ruatau* and *te maramatanga rukuruku o taiao.* When the heavenly bodies were arranged in the heavens, the light then known is called *te ao marama o taiao.*

The first phase of light mentioned above is sometimes alluded to as the *maramatanga tuaiti,* or dim condition of light, which is seen in the feeble glimmer of phosphorescent light, and personified in Moko-huruhuru (the glow-worm), who was a subject of Kiwa, elder brother of Tane, and guardian of the ocean.

Tane and the Whanau Marama (the Heavenly Bodies arranged by Tane-te-waiora).

The heavenly bodies are known collectively as the *whanau marama* (the Light Offspring or Family, the Light-giving Ones, the Children of Light).

The Bay of Plenty natives state that when Tane separated heaven and earth he found that darkness still prevailed, hence he set about the introduction of light. In this connection it is well to remember that Tane represents light in Maori myth, even as Whiro represents darkness. Tane went to Tangotango (Tongatonga) in quest of the Light Children, and said, "How brightly gleam our young ones of the *whanau marama!*" Tangotango inquired, "For what purpose?" Said Tane, "To lighten our darkness, that light may shine across the breast of the Earth Mother." Then Tane was given Hine-rauamoa (one of the Light Children), and he placed her on the breast of Rangi, the Sky Parent. But darkness still held; hence he returned and obtained Hina-tore (phosphorescent light); but this feeble glimmer had no effect in dispelling darkness. He next procured the stars, which cast a feeble light, an unsatisfactory glimmer. Then the moon was placed in the heavens, and light grew stronger, but still was not sufficient; and yet again Tane went to Tangotango and demanded the sun. This final demand angered Tangotango, who sent the sun, glaring with heat, to destroy Tane and his brethren. So Tane fixed the sun in the heavens, then thrust the sky up higher, that those on the breast of the Earth Mother might not perish. And the *whanau marama* still cling to the breast of the Sky Father and give light to the world by day and night. This was how Tane brought light to the world.

The Awa folk of the Bay of Plenty give somewhat different versions of some of these myths to those collected from other tribes. They state that the trio Tane, Tangotango, and Wainui were the offspring of Rangi and Papa (sky and earth), and that from these three sprang all things, animate and inanimate. This was by no means a poor conception for an uncultured people, inasmuch as those three beings represent warmth, light, and water.

We will now relate the east coast version of the origin of light, and the fixing of the heavenly bodies on the breast of the Sky Parent, as taught in the school of learning of the Takitumu tribes. This is a portion of the lore coming under the term of *tatai arorangi,* or lore pertaining to the heavenly bodies:—

Tane told Kewa to go to Maunganui and bring to him the offspring of Te Ahuru (*syn.* Moe-ahuru), in order that the grandchildren of Rangi-nui (the Sky Parent) might be taken to dwell on his breast. So Kewa went and spoke to Tongatonga, and Whiri-taringa-waru, and Tawhiri-rangi, who were the foster-parents of that supernatural family (the heavenly bodies), for their mother, Moe-ahuru, was a supernatural being, it is said, hence they also partook of that character. The family was taken wherewith to adorn the breast and front of their ancestor, Rangi-nui, and that is why the moon and his younger brothers move round on the front of their ancestor. Their elder brother (the sun) was taken to the back of their ancestor, there to revolve, for he was *tapu* -that is why they were separated from him. Those offspring are composed of eyes only; they have no bodies. Tane and Tupai placed them on high to illuminate their ancestor. Enough on these matters!

Tongatonga took to wife Moe-ahuru—that is, Hine-te-ahuru according to some—and the sun, moon, and stars were born. The *ra kura* (red sun) is one form of the name, the *ra tuoi* is another. The *marama rou* is one name for the moon, the *marama titaha* (declining moon) is another name, and the *marama i whanake* (ascending or waxing moon) is another name.

Now, as to Kopu, Puanga, Tautoru, Matariki, Autahi, Tawera, Whanui, Parearau, Te Ikaroa, and others of that star family, they were exceedingly numerous, as also were their names. They were transferred by Te Ikaroa (Milky Way), by the person who had reared them, who was an elder of that family. Now, Te Ikaroa was an elder brother of Whiro, by whom was Tongatonga, who had that family spoken of. That is why it came about that he reared those offspring. Now, the family was placed in a basket, and Te Ikaroa and Tama-rereti went with their canoe, which was a *tapu* vessel, and placed the offspring on it. On arriving at the breast of Rangi-nui the offspring were arranged in their places. The sun was placed on the breast and there established, while the moon was set up on the stomach of Rangi. The small sun family (stars) was arranged all over the body, head, and legs. Then Tane said to Te Ikaroa, "You shall remain among our grandchildren, lest they quarrel among themselves." If Te Ikaroa had not stayed there, also Tama-rereti, then they (the stars) would have fallen, in which case their heads would have been broken; they would have fallen into the ocean and perished.

Now, Tane and his elder and younger brothers gazed upon the result, and, behold! now indeed their parent presented a handsome appearance, the face of Rangi was illuminated, his body also could be seen, and his offspring roaming over him.

Rangi called out to Te Ikaroa, "Our offspring, the very small suns, let them keep close to your side that they may be carefully cherished, that you may become an indication of approaching day, and that the movements of our offspring may be ever continuous and steady in their course."

When Te Ikaroa (Milky Way) and the offspring moved in their course, the burning heat of the sun became intensified; Papa the Earth Mother became all dried up, the dust flew, nor eye of man nor aught could see; for Papa was lying naked, hence that condition of things.

Now called Tane unto Te Ikaroa: "O friend! Readjust your movements, and those of the lesser suns and the moon, in order that we may sleep. Transfer the sun forward, there to pursue his way, while you and his younger brothers move in the rear, so that he may conduct you and our offspring."

This was agreed to by Te Ikaroa, and so the world acquired night. Day was permanently assigned to the red sun, and night to the Milky Way, the moon, and their younger brothers.

The principal persons of the offspring of Papa and Rangi-nui, when they were located on the breast of their elder, who were detached for special duties, were Te Ikaroa, to whom the leadership of their little-sun offspring (that is to say, of the stars) was assigned, and whose companion, Tama-rereti, was the caretaker of their canoe, and Rona, guardian of the *marama whiro* (moon), as some term it, or *marama hua*, as called by others. The twain (Te Ikaroa and Tama-rereti), including their companions, detained the moon and the stars so that they might follow behind in the shadow of their elder brother, the *ra kura* (red or glowing sun), or *ra tuoi*, as some term it—hence the darkened nights.

Now, regarding the intense strength and broiling effect of the sun on the progeny of the Earth Mother, it caused the whole family to wail—all those who remained below with her. Then Roiho and Haepuru were despatched by Tane that they might go and look after that one of their offspring, telling them that his offspring the red sun should be transferred to the back of the Sky Parent and so carried, leaving on his breast his

"lesser sun" offspring only. The elder brothers agreed to this, and so those members of the brethren were transferred to that place, hence the separation of night and day became satisfactory.

Now, Tane looked and saw that the glowing sun had passed to the head of the Sky Parent, and their parent wailed aloud. Roiho, Haepuru, and Tu-te-wanawana looked; and, behold, the head of their elder had been burned by the glowing sun! Roiho called down to Tane, "O friend! We and our father are suffering grievously by reason of our offspring burning us by means of Matiti-tiramarama."

Tane now called upward, "Place him afar off at Tauru-o-rangi." Then the sun was moved to the breast of his grandparent Rangi-tamaku. On his arrival there, matters were satisfactory, he having the forefront of his forbear on which to roam to and fro. Now, the navel of his elder was the place where the red sun paused. On reaching the navel he proceeded toward the legs of the elder, this being the winter, and on reaching his stomach he became fearful and turned back. On reaching the navel of the elder he sheltered himself at that place, then proceeded to the head of the elder and there stayed, that he might clearly view his younger brethren, his elders and forbears, roaming across the front of their elder Rangi-nui, and of the Earth Mother also. And this period became summer for his young brethren, his parents and elders dwelling with the Earth Mother.

Now, at that time all dwelling in the sheltered space between earth and sky were distressed by warmth, day and night. So Tane said to the elder brother, to Tawhiri-matea, "O son! Go you and our offspring, retain them about the supports of our father, Rangi-nui. Transfer the females to the support of the head, and some to that of the armpits, and the males to the support of the legs, that they may serve to cover our parent, and that we may escape from (the heat of) our offspring."

Tawhiri-matea consented, and the family were conveyed and established at those places, while he, Tawhiri-matea, and his companions, went up on to the Tihi-o-Manono to prepare a home for himself and his offspring. (These offspring of Tawhiri-matea are the *whanau puhi*, the Wind Children, whose home is in the space between the Earth Mother and the Sky Parent, who drive the clouds across the forefront of the heavens, and also lessen the heat of the glowing sun. At other times they come from north, south, east, and west, trooping forth in swift array to meet and gambol on Tahora-nui-atea, the vast plaza of Hine-moana, the Ocean Maid, the far-spread ocean spaces. The four *toko* (props or supports) on which the Sky Parent was supported are the four winds of space.)

A brief and unexplained note states that Tane took from Wehi-nui-o-mamao the coverings of his garments—namely, Hira-auta, Porera-nuku, Takurua, Whare-pukarehu, Ruaki-motumotu, Tahu-werawera, Whero, Whero-i-te-ninihi, Whero-i-te-kokota, and Whero-i-te-ao-maori. These are apparently all star names, though the various Whero are usually given as Wero. The name Wehi-nui-o-mamao, which White calmly renders as "Great fear of the distance," evidently represents one of the custodians or guardians of the "little suns," as the stars were termed. Another version calls the stars the ornaments of his house. The stars called Wero are winter stars, hence their name of Wero, probably, though White renders the name of Wero-i-te-ninihi as "Pierce the coward" at p. 137 of his *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. 1, but as "Arouse the absconding" at p. 149.

The Matiti-tiramarama mentioned in the foregoing narrative is either the summer star Matiti, or Matiti = the summer season. As a means of conveyance the sun was placed in a basket called Rauru-rangi, the moon in one termed Te Kauwhanga, while the stars were placed in Te Kete-rauroha, so all were conveyed to the body of Rangi, and there arranged.

A number of names commencing with Matiti denote different periods or phases of summer. (See *Williams's Maori Dictionary*, 5th ed., p. 226; also Stowell's *Maori-English Tutor*, pp. 203-4.)

Light had now entered the world—broad daylight, the clear light we know, and which is known as *ao marama*. After the final arrangement of the heavenly bodies the world possessed day and night. The long, weary waiting for light had ended; slowly through many phases darkness had passed away and light had come. Tane had illuminated the world.

Two of the supernatural offspring of Rangi and Papa, those named Rongomai-tahanui and Rongomai-taharangi, were located in the heavens in order to act as guardians of the heavenly bodies.

A South Island version of the myth of Tane placing the stars in position, as given by Wohlers in vol. 7 of the *Transactions*, states that he went to Okehu to procure them. He first obtained the *kura* (whatever that may have been) and arranged it in the sky, but it was not suitable. He then returned to Okehu and brought the stars, and arranged them on Rangi. He stretched the Galaxy across the heavens, and fixed Panako-te-ao, and the Patari (Magellan Clouds), and Autahi (Canopus), the star of the year. He then went to the home of Tukai-nanapia and obtained the "coverings" or adornments of Wehi-nui-o-mamao. These were Hirautu (? Hirauta), Poreri-nuku (? Porera-nuku), Kahui-whetu (descriptive term for a constellation), Poaka (= Puaka = Puanga = Rigel), Takurua, Whare-pungarehu, Kuaki-motumotu (Ruaki-motumotu), Tahu-weruweru, Wero, Wero-i-te-ninihi, Wero-i-te-kokoto, Wero-i-te-ao-maori. Then Tane came down and looked upward at his parent, who now presented a truly fine appearance. (In this account Wohlers's translation of the original is scarcely to be commended; it is in the nature of a paraphrase, with considerable omissions.)

There is abundance of evidence that Tane represents light, and that his name of Tane-te-waiora represents him as the source of the sunlight, which is the welfare of all things. Fornander speaks of the three great Polynesian deities Tane, Tu, and Rongo as the personified forms of light, stability, and sound. Of these the two last may be queried in connection with our New Zealand myths, but the first named is correct. This writer also clearly shows that the Hawaiians knew Tane as representing the sun, and adds that offerings were made to him. He gives some interesting notes concerning Tane. In their ancient poems the east is called the *ala nui hele a Kane* (the great highway of Tane), and the west is styled the *ala nui o ka make* (the great road of death, or of the dead). In other chants the east is called *ke ala ula a Kane* (the bright road of Tane), the way that is brightened or illuminated by him. "Other names of the west, only occurring in the older chants and prayers, and referring to the same symbolism and identification of Kane with the sun, are found in Kaulana-a-Kane (the resting-place of Kane), and in Kane-neenee (the moving sun)." The reader, by remembering the dropped *k* of the Hawaiian dialect, and the substitution of *k* for *t*, will recognize Tane in Kane, while Kane-nee-nee would be Tane-nekeneke in the New Zealand dialect.

Fornander believed, however, that this sun-worship had faded away prior to the entry of the Polynesians into the Pacific area, or nearly so. "If the ideas of solar worship embodied in the Polynesian Kane (Tane), as the sun, the sun-god, the Shining One . . . were of Cushite origin, yet the name itself is of Arian kindred, and refers itself to some primary root expressed in the Sanskrit *Kan* (to shine), &c."

Hawaiian chants also speak of "the heaven of Tane," "the stars of Tane," &c. Another matter of interest is the existence in that group of certain upright stones known as "the stones of Tane," which were covered by priests with a black cloth, and at which offerings were made.

Our Maori folk have forgotten that Tane is the sun, and so tell us that they know nought of any veneration for the sun in former times, save in the far-off isle of Rangiatea, in eastern Polynesia. But Tane they knew here in New Zealand as the most important *atua* of the second class of deities, and inferior only to Great Io. Tane, like some other Maori deities, has his counterpart in the Old World, where Tanen was the "god of the

heavens" in Egypt, where also the sun was called Ra, as it was in New Zealand and Polynesia. In ancient Egypt different names were applied to the sun at morning, noon, evening, and during his passage through the underworld at night. Something of the same kind seems to have obtained among the Maori, where, according to Takitumu data, the name of Tama-nui-te-ra was applied to the sun only in the morning, perhaps only to the rising sun. In Egypt the setting sun was Tum, or Ra-tum, while in the Paumotu Group of eastern Polynesian *ra tumu* signifies the setting sun. In Fenton's *Suggestions for a History of the Maori People* we are told that, among the Accadians, Tu, the god of death and bloodshed, representing the setting sun, and Ra, the sun-god, were generally recognized.

In Tane-te-waiora we have the personified form of the sun as the origin of light and the welfare that springs from it. In Tane-te-po-tiwha we probably have the counterpart of the Egyptian Osiris, the sun during its passage through the underworld at night. In one version of the origin of light Tane obtains the stars from Tane-te-waiora, and the stars are spoken of as the ornaments of that being's house.

In the expression *te waiora a Tane* we have another singular abstraction, and one of much interest. This word *waiora* is usually rendered by writers as "waters of life" and "life-giving waters," which error has been repeated in many works. In some cases, as in the Hawaiian Isles, natives really do speak of it as a lake or river whose waters are life-giving and will restore the dead to life. But the true meaning is "sunlight"; that of "welfare" or "prosperity" is a secondary meaning when the word is used in this connection. As a word of the vernacular *waiora* means "health," "welfare." In eastern Polynesia we find *vai* = to be, to exist, in the Tahitian and Paumotu dialects; and in the latter the form *vaiora* = to survive. On Porapora Island, Society Group, is a spring of water known as Te Vaiora-a-Tane. In Tahitian myth we find that the Vaiora-a-Tane is said to be the Milky Way, in the vacant parts of which dwells the shark and certain fish. (See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 16, p. 102.)

In many works on the Maori we are told that when the moon becomes old and feeble she goes away to the "living waters of Tane," or "life-giving waters of Tane," where she bathes in those waters and then returns to this world with renewed youth. An account given by Hori Ropiha reads: "*Ko te pouritanga o te marama, e kainga ana e Rona, a ko te wa o te marama e ngaro nei, ko Rona raua ko te marama e kai ana i a raua. Ka kai tetahi i tetahi, a ka kau raua i te waiora a Tane, ka ora mai ano*" ("The dark phase of the moon; it is being consumed by Rona, and when the moon is lost to view Rona and the moon are consuming each other. One assails the other; then they bathe in the *waiora a Tane*, and recover").

White gives a version of the myth in which it is said that the moon is periodically afflicted by sickness, and, when much weakened, goes to bathe in the *waiora a Tane*, and so recovers. This periodical illness of the moon seems to be the cause of the connection said to exist between women and the moon.

All these expressions are mythopoetic fancies, and fanciful ways of saying that the moon bathes in sunlight, which, as it were, rejuvenates her.

This concept is most easily grasped in its Hawaiian form, and it is evidently an ancient production, probably brought from the homeland of the race. In vol. 4 of the *Memoirs of the Bishop Museum of Honolulu* is given the old myth of the expedition of Kautere in search of these waters of life of Tane, the waters guarded by Tane-naiau. In his search for *ka wai ola loa a Kane* (*te wai ora roa a Tane* in the New Zealand dialect) he was told to proceed straight to the rising sun. Kane-makua (Tane-matua) is also mentioned in this myth.

In the White manuscripts occurs a brief note stating that the *wai paparoa o Tane* is the water by means of which man may be restored to life. All these quaint concepts carry us back to the old Babylonian myth wherein the sun bathes in the water of life,

and Istar, the moon, does the same, and has her glory restored. The Egyptian myth of Osiris shows how a belief in immortality or resurrection was evolved from the regular passage of the sun through the darkness of the underworld, and its reappearance in this world. In India the sun-god was plunged into the pool of regeneration to restore his youth.

In Wyatt Gill's *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* it is said that at Mangaia Tane seems to have been recognized as the sun, and Venus is called the brilliant right eye of Tane.

We now see why it is that the Maori has been said by many writers to have had no conception of a sun deity, that he practised no form of sun-worship, that he showed no reverence for that important luminary. It is because he personified the sun in Tane; because he discarded, in this connection, the ordinary word denoting the sun, *ra*, and elevated it to a high place in the Maori pantheon under a different name. And in this matter he was but following the method employed by the old races of Egypt and Babylonia. The sun-god with twelve names of the far-off Land of the Two Rivers reappears in Tane of the twelve names of Polynesia and New Zealand. Nor may we say which is the older, for no man can say as to where the original homeland of the Maori lay, where Uru and Irihia are situated, or how many centuries have elapsed since he passed out upon the great ocean to claim his place as the foremost neolithic navigator of the grey ages.

Whare-kura: The First House built on Earth.

At a certain time Rua-i-te-pukenga came to earth in order to visit the offspring of Rangi-nui (Great Rangi, the Sky Parent). When he saw the conditions under which they were living he said to Tane, to Paia, Rongo, and Tawhiri-matea, "Your mode of living here is not well. Go up to Rangi-parauri [the third heaven], to Maraenui, and take a plan of Whare-kura, that you may construct a house here for yourselves."

So they went, ascending the sides of the heavens, and obtained a plan, with all measurements, of Whare-kura—of the posts, ridge-pole, rafters, battens, and all particulars of its construction. All these were brought down to earth, and the services of Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-hohonu were obtained to assist in the erection of a copy of Whare-kura at Rangitatau.

Now it was that Whare-kura was built in this world, the first house constructed on the body of the Earth Mother. That house possessed four entrance-doors, one of which faced the south, one the west, one the north, and one the *ra ura* (red sun), the east. The decorative designs on the timbers were painted ones. When completed, the *tua* rite was performed in connection with the new house.

Now, Tangaroa had slain Whiro, the son of Kewa and Huruhuru, who was named after Whiro-te-tipua, and buried his body at the base of the rearmost post of Whare-kura as a *whatu*, or sacrifice. That act led to trouble between Whiro-te-tipua and Tangaroa. The younger brothers of the Whiro who had been sacrificed are said to have been hairy when born—a boisterous, evil, dishonest breed; they were known by the clan-name of Ngati-Peketua, and are said to have been the origin of the *morere*, or giant-stride swing seen in the world. This statement apparently shows that Huruhuru, the mother of Whiro, was a member of that clan. The name Huruhuru signifies "hair" or "hairy." This clan-name is applied elsewhere to dark-skinned folk that occupied Irihia, the Maori homeland, and is also used in describing certain peoples of the Pacific isles.

The house Whare-kura, at Rangi-parauri, belonged to Nuku-te-aio and his folk—that is, to the company of supernatural beings of that heaven. That home became the pattern for all houses constructed in this world. Its only variant feature was the series of four doors, the origin of which was the way in which the offspring had scattered over

the body of their mother: some had gone to the south, some to the west, some to the north, and some to the east. Whiro and his companions had gone to the south, Uru-te-ngangana and his friends to the west, Rongo-maraeroa and his friends to the east, while Paia (*alias* Tupai) and his companions had made for the north. Tane and his companions had gone to the bounds of the heavens, to the various realms of the eleven heavens, and to the earth and the underworld. These companions of Tane were Tawhiri-matea, Roiho, Roake, Haepuru, and Haematua. They were the companions of all the celestial beings, and the controllers of the *poutiriao*, or tutelary beings.

In another recital we are told that Rua-i-te-pukenga was the son of Nuku-te-aio, to whom the Whare-kura in the heavens belonged. This Rua is one of several personified forms of thought, of mental powers, and of knowledge, of whom we shall have something to say further on. In this version also we note that Tane appeals to Tama-kaka, Tupai, Rongo, and Tawhiri-matea to accompany him to Rangi-tamaku (the second heaven) in order to obtain a plan of Whare-kura, that such a place might be constructed on earth to serve as a place in which the *wananga*, or esoteric knowledge of the twelve heavens, might be preserved.

Here follows a version of the story of the ascent of Tane to the twelfth heaven, in order to obtain the *wananga*, as given by Te Matorohanga, of Wai-rarapa:—

Tane ascends to the Uppermost Heaven.

"Io, the Supreme Being, resolved that one of the offspring of the primal parents should ascend to his realm in the uppermost heaven in order to obtain the three baskets or receptacles of occult knowledge. Such sacerdotal and esoteric knowledge was to be sent down to earth as an important boon for the offspring, and for mankind, a possession that would preserve their welfare and enhance their *mana* for all time.

"At a certain time Io the Great sent his messengers, Rehua, Ruatau, and Paoa, down to earth in order to observe and report on the condition and actions of the offspring of Rangi and Papa. Having received the report, Io remarked, 'To which of the children of Papa-tuanuku shall be assigned the task of ascending through the bespaced heavens, and to enter Tikitiki-o-rangi; to attain the position of pundit, of holder of *tapu* knowledge for the descendants of the Earth Mother?' Said Ruatau and Paoa, 'Let Tane-nui-a-Rangi and Paia be selected.' But Io said, 'Let it be left to them to select one of their number to make the ascent.' He continued, 'Go to Tu-te-aniwaniwa, to Wharau-rangi, to Huaki-pouri [the "houses" of the offspring] and inquire as to which of them shall secure the prized *wananga* [esoteric knowledge] for Tu-te-aniwaniwa.' When the offspring were so asked, Whiro said that he would go and procure it. But those of Wharau-rangi said that Tane should be the one to obtain it, and, when the question was asked by Rehua at Huaki-pouri, Tane replied, 'I will ascend to the uppermost heaven to procure the *wananga* and the two sacred stones.' Rehua inquired, 'By what way will you ascend?' Tane replied, 'By way of the *toi huarewa*, the *ara tiatia*.' [These curious expressions are said to apply to the whirlwind, but are sacerdotal expressions, while other names for it are found in vernacular speech.] Said Rehua to Tane, 'Follow us, and ascend to the entrance to the uppermost heaven.' But Tane explained, 'Let us wait, the winds are violent, the bespaced heavens are disturbed. When the *orongonui* [summer] arrives I will traverse the heavens and the winds thereof.' Rehua and his companions now returned to the uppermost heaven."

The following account of the ascent of Tane to the heavens is a fairly literal translation of the original, which original appears as Appendix III of the Addenda:—

"When summer came, then Tane said to Tawhiri-matea, 'Send thou hither our offspring, that they may convey me to the bespaced heavens to obtain the occult knowledge of heaven and earth, as also the *whatu* [supernatural stones].' Tawhiri-matea replied,

'It is well. Do you call upon their elder Huru-te-arangi, who will send them to you; they dwell upon the summit of Manono.'

"At a subsequent time they went—that is, Tane, Te Haeata, Tawhiri-matea, Uruao, Tukapua, Taka-wairangi, Ranga-ihi-matua, and others. Now, when the time came that the clouds were transferred to the threshold of the sides of the heavens, there to dwell in their own region, the Ahoaho-o-Tukapua* was the dwelling of Hine-pukohu-rangi [Heavenly Mist Maid], of Tukapua, of Aoaonui, of Aoaoroa, of Uhirangi, and of Takerewai, for such were the names of that family occupying their appointed place.† For they feared Huru-mawake, Huru-atea, Huru-nuku, and Huru-rangi [personified forms of winds], and dreaded lest they be buffeted and driven to the bounds of the heavens at Taururangi, and there be dispersed.

"Said Tane to Tawhiri-matea, 'Send hither our offspring to bear me to the heavens, that I may ascend to the uppermost of the bespaced heavens by way of the middle of space.' And Tawhiri-matea replied, 'It is well. Let us go with our relatives to Rangi-tamaku [the second of the twelve heavens].'

"To this Tane consented, and they went. On arriving at Rangi-tamaku the matter was explained to Huru-te-arangi, and agreed to by him. The offspring were sent for, and the following members arrived. [The twenty-three names given are those of different forms of manifestations of wind, squalls, &c.] There are yet others of that brood; a very numerous multitude are they. The resting-place whereat they had settled was on Tihi-o-Manono, at Rangi-naonao-ariki [the eleventh of the twelve heavens], where also their elder brothers were—viz., Huru-mawake, Huru-nukuatea, and Huru-nukurangi [personified forms of winds]—who were the origin of the wind called Paraweranui, which is a southerly wind; of Tahu-makaka-nui, the west wind; of Tahu-mawake-nui, the east wind; and the *whakarua* (north-east breeze), and the north wind, *hau marangai*, or *hau raro*. The abodes in which dwelt these Wind Children were named Te Pu-mairekura, Rangi-tahua, Rangi-mawake, and Tu-te-wanawana-a-hau; these were their dwellings. The beings who sheltered these children were Tarapuhi, Tarapae, Tara-aorangi, and Tara-waihekura. Their plaza is known as Maraenui, as Tahuaroa, and Mahora-nui-atea, whereat their employment is joyful gambolling and frolicking, roaming about, spinning tops, and joyous junketings among themselves. Their vantage-point from which they gazed down on the lower heavens was Paroro-rangi, which is situated in the third heaven, counting downwards from above, or the tenth of the heavens if counting upwards. The beings who dwell there are the multitudes of Matanginui and Mataruwai, whence the origin of their elder Huru-te-arangi. Here is the origin of light-coloured hair, of flaxen hair, of brown hair, and fair hair, which kind of hair betokens a high-born man or woman.

"On the arrival of the Wind Children, Tane, Te Haeata, and Taka-wairangi proceeded to Tiritiri-o-Matangi [the second of the twelve heavens, counting from above], the eleventh heaven, from which region Taka-wairangi and Te Haeata turned back.

"It was on a prior occasion that they had reached Rangi-naonao-ariki [the tenth heaven, counting upwards], to which place Te Haeata had gone first in order to announce that Tane and Taka-wairangi were ascending. Kautu and Tapuhikura proceeded to the beam of the latrine of Taururangi, where they and Tonganui-kaea took up their positions. When Tane and Taka-wairangi arrived they went direct to the *turuma* [latrine], where the *pure* rite was performed over them, after which they were caused to bite the beam of the *turuma*, when they were conveyed within Taururangi and freed from *tapu* pertaining to Papa-tuanuku [the earth]. For this purpose they took their stand on the *ahumairangi*, or the *ahurewa*, as it is also called, and after this *tapu*-lifting ceremony they were conducted to water and immersed therein, and then Tapuhikura and Kautu said, 'Now go forth, and touch neither food nor drink before returning to this very place to have the *tapu* of the upper realm lifted from you, then you may partake of food and drink.'

* The Cloud House. † These be some of the Cloud Children.

"Tama-i-waho now went to conduct Tane to the entrance of Tikitiki-o-rangi [the uppermost heaven], but on passing the threshold of Rangi-naonao-ariki Tane was attacked by the hordes of Pepetua, which was the name of those hostile, unruly ones [see names in original denoting many kinds of insects, birds, &c.], as also others of that clan, insects and birds. It was Whiro-te-tipua who had commanded that Tane be followed and slain, or wounded, so that he, Whiro, might obtain his blood; but never did the assailants approach near to Tane, by reason of the action of the offspring of Tawhiri-matea [the winds], who whirled like a double-ended top gyrating; hence the assailants could never approach to attack, and thus was that contest known by the name of Kopara-kore, though some adepts know it as Te Haemata. Even so were the hordes of Whiro defeated by the Wind Children.

"On arriving at the entrance to the uppermost heaven, Tane found there Ruatau, Pawa, Rehua, Puhaorangi, Ohomairangi, and the hordes of Houere-tu, Houere-tau, of Houere-nuku, as also other such names. Their place of abode was Tawhiri-rangi; the door in the middle of the house was Te Pumotomoto, and it gave on the way down to the eleven lower heavens and to the earth. The doorway by which to pass to the uppermost heaven was Tahurangi. When Tane entered within Tawhiri-rangi, then Tama-i-waho and the Wind Children returned to Tiritiri-o-Matangi, there to await the return of Tane.

"When Tane entered the house Tawhiri-rangi, an aperture was made under the ridge-pole of that house as a passage by which Tane might enter the uppermost heaven. When Tane so entered the topmost heaven he was conducted by the *whatukura* [male denizens of that region] to the Moana-i-Orongo [Sea at Orongo], there to be immersed, after which the *pure* rite was performed over him by Ohomairangi, Puhaorangi, Ruatau, and others of the *whatukura*. Then he was conducted to Matangi-i-reia, at which place Io [the Supreme Being] was dwelling. Io inquired, 'Are you alone?' Tane replied, 'My elder brother, Whiro-te-tipua, is ascending by way of the side of the heavens.' Io remarked, 'Your brother will not succeed, for the winds of Tiritiri-o-Matangi are fierce.' Then Io inquired, 'What is the reason of your being seen here?' Tane replied, 'That I may obtain the baskets of occult knowledge and the sacred stones of Rangi-nui and Papa-tuanuku.' Said Io to Tane, 'Let us enter the Rauroha, where the *whatukura* and *mareikura* [male and female denizens of the uppermost heaven] are.'

"On their arrival at that place Tane was conducted to the *ahurewa* [a place whereat religious ceremonies were performed], where the *pure* rite was again performed over him. The following names were assigned to Tane when he was subjected to the *pure* by Ohomairangi and Puhaorangi at the Moana-i-Orongo, and also within Te Rauroha, on which occasions he received his complete list of names: Tane-nui-a-Rangi, Tane-matua, Tane-te-waiora, Tane-te-wananga, Tane-torokaha, Tane-uetika, Tane-te-whawhanga, and the other many names of Tane-matua. These numerous names of his I myself will recite to you at some other time.

"When the *pure* performance of Tane was finished he was conducted within Rangiatea, that being the house in which were deposited the *wananga* of the twelve heavens, of the suns, of the moons, of the stars of each division of each heaven, each having its own aspect. Such was the origin of the many names of Io and of Tane, as also of others, *whatukura* and *mareikura*.

"Tane was again *purea* at the *ahurewa* of the house Rangiatea at the time when the *wananga* and sacred stones were produced. Here are the names of the *wananga* and of the treasured stones: (1) The *kete tuauri;* (2) the *kete tuatea;* (3) the *kete aronui*. These are the baskets [receptacles] of the *wananga* given to Tane-wananga.

"The *kete tuauri* is the basket of ritual chants pertaining to the conduct of all matters connected with Rangi-nui and Papa-tuanuka, as also of the control of all things desired to be performed by the offspring of Papa-tuanuku.

"The *kete tuatea* is the basket of evil, of all things evil, no matter what it be. All evil things are found in this basket, all things practised by the offspring, or by Rangi-nui, or by Papa-tuanuku, by the sun, by the moon, by the stars, by the wind, by the rain, by water, by trees, by stones, by all things. That is the basket exposing their evil acts, dissensions, strife among men and gods, all are found there.

"The *kete aronui* is the basket of love, sympathy, compassion, of peace-making, of the condition known as permanent peace, and of all actions pertaining to the knowledge of arts by means of which are benefited men, land, trees, water, earth, herbage, food-supplies, animals, birds, fish, insects, and all other things seen by man.

"Now, the prized stones spoken of were *tapu* stones. They stand within the house, the situation of both being in the central space of the house, one standing on the eastern side of the rear post of the house, the other on the western side. These stones possessed innate powers, and when a person underwent the *pure* ritual he would seat himself on one of those stones; also, when the teaching of a person was concluded, he performed the *whakangau* ceremonial act on that stone, after which it was said that that person had passed through the course of teaching, and the powers which it had been agreed should be acquired by him became permanent. Those stones possessed great inherent powers. Priestly adepts would place *kara* or *huka-a-tai* stones against them so that they might acquire some of their powers [*mana*], whereupon they passed into the possession of scholars who had passed through the school of learning. Now, that was the reason why, when a person built a house, a stone, lizard, bird, fish, or a person was slain and deposited as a *whatu* for his house, albeit it was man who carried it to that extent, for it was not the custom in the time of Tane-matua.

"The *whatukura* [male denizens of the uppermost heaven] came to escort Tane-te-wananga, the prized *wananga*, and two sacred stones in their descent. On arriving at Tiritiri-o-Matangi they were joined by the offspring of Tawhiri-matea [*i.e.*, winds], and on reaching Rangi-naonao-ariki [the tenth heaven, counting upwards] they were attacked by the forces of Whiro-te-tipua. This was the second time that that force attacked Tane-te-waiora in order to slay him. Then the primal offspring of Huru-te-arangi were summoned by Rehua, their names being Haupuhi [blowing wind], Huka-tarapuhi, and Hukarere [snow], to whom were added the boisterous wind offspring of Tawhiri-matea and Para-weranui. That hostile force was here defeated; some were captured by Tane and brought down to dwell on Papa-tuanuku [the earth], and these were—Bat, Owl, Mountain-parrot, Brown Parrot, Sparrow-hawk, Night-parrot, Parrakeet, Green Lizard, Mosquito, Sandfly, Midge, Butterfly, Mantis, Moth, Fly, Weta,* and Kekerengu,* as also others of that force of Whiro-te-tipua. The names by which those defeats were known, the former one and this, was Tawhiri-rangi, also Tawhiri-nuku, which names apply to the first affray in which the force of Whiro-te-tipua was defeated; and Te Rangi-kaupapa was the name of the battle during the return of Tane-te-wananga. Very well, this is now clear.

"When Tane-matua reached Rangi-nui [the first heaven—the one nearest earth] he set the Haupipi of the heavens [a form of cloud] on high as a sign for the offspring of the Earth Mother. Tupai and Uruao saw the Pipipi-o-te-rangi gleaming in the heavens, and Tupai then knew that Tane-matua had obtained possession of the *wananga*. The two trumpets Taururangi and Te Rangiwhakarara were procured and sounded, the sound of those two trumpets reaching Tu-te-aniwaniwa, Wharau-rangi, and Huaki-pouri, whereupon it became known that Tane had secured the *wananga*. The whole family assembled at Taururangi to await the arrival of Tane-matua; when he arrived he proceeded direct to the *turuma* of Wharau-rangi, where he and the receptacles of the *wananga* and sacred stones underwent the *pure* ceremonial at the hands of the *whatukura*. Said Ruatau to Tupai, 'Convey the baskets of the *wananga* and the two precious stones within Whare-kura. You should enter within, as also one other whom you select as a companion for

* Two repulsive creatures—insects.

yourself. Remember, as there are twelve heavens, twelve divisions of the year, twelve companies of male denizens of the heavens, and twelve companies of female denizens of the twelve heavens, then let there be likewise twelve companions for you within Whare-kura. You and Tane-te-wananga should perform over them the *pure* ceremonial to fit them as guardians of Whare-kura, you two making the eleventh and twelfth.' When Ruatau concluded his remarks the *whatukura* returned to the uppermost heaven.

"Whiro-te tipua proposed that he should have possession of the *wananga* and place it in Tu-te-aniwaniwa, but to this the offspring of Papa would not consent. Whiro strenuously persisted in claiming it, and Tane-matua was asked if he consented to such a disposal of the *wananga*, to which he replied that he would not consent, whereupon Whiro became angry. Quoth Tane, 'I will not agree to it, so much that is evil has already proceeded from you. In regard to Uru, you were the cause of this trouble; as to the Paerangi, that misfortune was caused by you. Now, I have been pursued by you with murderous intent, and you have arranged our destruction on account of the separation of Rangi and Papa, the severing of their limbs, the slaying of Kaupeka, the occurrence of Tupai and I undergoing the *pure* on Maunganui, and the fact that I was the one to fetch the *wananga*, and hence you did not obtain it.' Whiro now returned to Tu-te-aniwaniwa, there to dwell.

"Uru-te-ngangana remarked to Tane, 'Allow the two stones to be deposited within Tu-te-aniwaniwa.' Tane-matua granted the request of his elder brother, inasmuch as that elder brother had been kindly disposed toward him, and indeed to all of them.

"Then set forth the party that had been selected as occupants of Whare-kura, comprising the following: Tupai, Raka-maomao, Tane, Tuamatua, Rua-taumata, Rongo-maraeroa, Punaweko, Rongo-whakaata, Rauru-matua, Tukapua, Te Mamaru. This was the company of *whatukura* that conveyed the basket containing the precious stones to Tu-te-aniwaniwa and there deposited them. Having arrived at the place and so deposited them, then Whiro called to the guardians of Whare-kura, 'O Tane and you all! Go, return, so that I may go and batter your heads with the *patu tawaka*.' The *patu tawaka* is like this: it has four *pewa* [? knobs, projections], and its forward end is pointed. It is used as a striking-weapon, and also to stab a person in the side, or below the breast-bone. Only Whiro and his companions employed that weapon. Tu-matauenga introduced the *onewa* weapon, also the *tokotoko* with two points of whale's bone, or the tail of a sting-ray, the offspring of Te Arawaru. Te Arawaru and Raupara produced the *ihe* [garfish], the *rerehau*, the *kaikapo*, the *whai* [sting-ray], and other species. Kaikapo resembles a dog, but is large, and spends part of his time ashore, part at sea, and part in lakes. Kiri-tuarangi is another name of Kaikapo; his spike is at the end of his nose.

"Now, at this time Whiro took away the wife of his elder brother Iriiripua, a woman of supernatural attributes belonging to Rangi-tamaku, and this developed into a cause of dissension between Uru-te-ngangana and the family, which was intensified by his treacherous conduct at the Paerangi. This was the first act of adultery in the family. Uru then came to Wharau-rangi, the home of Tangaroa and the younger brothers, and the subject of Whiro-te-tipua being attacked was discussed. Some of the family proposed that it be left to Whiro to provoke hostilities, but Tane said, 'Let that proposal be abandoned until we have appointed the guardians [*poutiriao*] for the bounds of the realm of Rangi-nui and of far-spread Papa-tuanuku.' To this his elder brothers consented.

The Poutiriao, or Tutelary Beings.

We now come to another important occurrence in the great task of setting the world in order—namely, the appointment of certain supernormal beings as guardians and controllers of the different realms of the earth, the heavens, and the ocean. These beings were so appointed by the command of Io, the Supreme Being, and Tane was

given the task of carrying out the instructions. Inasmuch as all things contain the elements of both evil and good, it is necessary that there should be some control over everything, therefore the *poutiriao* were appointed in order that they might watch over everything in all realms, and prevent all quarrels, all interferences, injustice, and wrong-doing of any nature. Theirs the task of confining each thing to its own proper activities and to preserve peace and prosperity in all spheres. This singular conception is evidently based on the belief in animatism, the attributing of life and personality to things, and also the quaint notion that all things are possessed by good and evil principles. To prevent these principles clashing, and to check all wayward and provocative action, was the duty of the *poutiriao*. At the same time the *whatukura*, attendants of Io in the uppermost heaven, had assigned to them the task of visiting and overseeing the *poutiriao*, and acting as supervisors or inspectors.

These *poutiriao* resemble somewhat the Daimones of the Greeks, but their functions and activities extend further, not being confined to man.

The following is a list of the names of the supernatural beings who were appointed as *poutiriao*, and of the different realms to which they were appointed. These are the guardians who were prepared by the *pure* ceremonial to protect and conduct the affairs pertaining to Rarohenga (spirit-world), to the spirits of the dead, whether they come by the south wind, the west, the east, or north winds. For the meeting-place of these four winds and of the spirits of the offspring of Rangi and Papa-tūanuku is the junction whereat separate the spirits whose desire is toward the bespaced heavens, and those who sympathize with the Earth Mother; these latter descend to Rarohenga:—

The Poutiriao, *or Guardians.*

1. Te Kuwatawata, Hurumanu, and Tauru-rangi were the guardians appointed at the Hono-i-wairua (the place where souls of dead congregated), and this is the Hono-i-wairua so much spoken of. The more comprehensive name of that place is Hawaiki-rangi; another name is Hawaiki-nui; and yet another is Hawaiki-whakaeroero; its common name being Poutere-rangi. The site where that house stood was Te Rake-pohutukawa, which is said by some to have been on the summit of Maungaharo, by others to have been on the Tihi-o-Manono. At this place the following took their positions: Rua-te-hohonu, Rua-te-wareware, Rua-momotu-herepi, Rua-aupo, Te Angi-tahimutu, Tahu-maikiroa, and Tahu-whakaeroero.

2. The guardians appointed for the forefront and back of Rangi-nui (the Sky Parent) were Uru-te-ngangana, Roiho, and Roake. With these were associated the ruddy sun, the moon, and the suspended stars of the realms of the bespaced heavens, of the eleven heavens, as also the supernatural beings of such heavens known as *whatukura*, *tahurangi*, *matanginui*, *rahuikura*, *rehuroa*, *poporokewa*, *rauroha*, *tarapuhi*, *tuakiaki*, *tahupara*, *tautangiao*: these were the elders who suspended the heavenly bodies in all the heavens, together with the leading stars of the various realms and the stars of the Milky Way.

3. The guardians for the outlying bounds of Hine-moana, whose duty was to maintain the arrangement of all ocean currents and other things connected with the sea, were Kiwa, Tangaroa-whakamau-tai, and Kaukau. At a later time Takaaho and Te Pu-whakahara moved to that realm that they might assume authority over their offspring, the various species of shark known as *paru*, *urerua*, *ururoa*, *takapane*, *makomako*, *tahapounamu*, *nihotara*, and other species of sharks, also whales and porpoises, who it was arranged should occupy lakes, but to this they would not agree, but persisted in remaining out in the vast bounds of Hine-moana (personified form of the ocean).

4. The guardians who were sanctified in order to arrange and control the movements of the winds, of snow, of rain, of the clouds, of mists, lightning, and thunder, lest they contend against each other or turn on the Earth Mother and work evil in this world, were

Tukapua, Te Ihorangi, and Tama-te-uira (personified forms of clouds, rain, and lightning); these were all who controlled the prosperity of that realm of Rangi and Papa.

5. The guardians sanctified for the purpose of controlling the ravages of Maiki-roa, Maiki-arohea, &c. (personified forms of disease, sickness, &c.), were Tu-matauenga, Tumata-kaka, and Te Akaaka-matua; while the following were associated with them as associates: Tumata-rauwiri, Tumata-huki, and Uepoto; these were all in this Department.

6. The guardians sanctified as regulators of the seasons of summer and winter, lest either be prolonged so as to cause continual summer or continual winter, were Te Ikaroa, Rongomai-taharangi, and Rongomai-tahanui.

7. The guardians sanctified in order to control the contentions or violent actions of the offspring of Kiwa, of Tangaroa-whakamau-tai, and others were Rongomai-tu-waho, Tiwhanui, and Mauhi; these were the ones appointed for that branch of their task.

8. The guardians sanctified as preservers of all occult knowledge pertaining to the realms of heaven and earth, also to the descent to the underworld, and supervisors of the behaviour of the offspring of Rangi and Papa who had been appointed to their own particular realms, of their conduct of affairs, as also the well-being and the afflictions of all things, were Taka-urunga, Kekerewai, and Takatua; these were all assigned to that branch of their work.

9. The guardians sanctified for the purpose of preserving peace and unity among themselves, to confine each to his own proper duties which were assigned to him, to prevent interference with the activities of others, lest the seeds of conceit and overbearing conduct should germinate among them, lest some attempt to grasp the portions of others, either in the heavens or on earth, or in the water, or Rarohenga (underworld) — these were Tane-matua, Ngangana-a-rangi, and Turamarama-a-nuku. These visited all the guardians appointed for the regions of heaven and earth, and the underworld, and also explained the actions of the various guardians in the presence of the *whatukura* of the uppermost heaven, who then made them known within Kautenganui in the presence of Io of the Hidden Face.

10. The guardians consecrated in order to preserve the welfare of all matters pertaining to Punihoniho-o-tau, lest trees, herbage, vegetation, lose its vitality, its fruitfulness, and deteriorate or decay, or become infertile, or incapable of assimilating nourishment, or seedless; lest the growth of trees and vegetation of land and water degenerate; lest fish, insects, and all things controlled in the world become infertile—these guardians were Tane-te-hokahoka, Tanga-i-waho, and Rongo-maraeroa, the beings appointed to that division of their labours.

11. The guardians consecrated for the purpose of protecting the powers of *tapu* in respect to places where religious ceremonies were performed, to gods connected with peace and its arts, to evil gods who attempt to nullify the administration of matters exercised by the various guardians of the realms of heaven and earth; also to protect and cherish all occult arts, all ritual pertaining to greeting, to boon-craving, to granting, declining, arranging, or supporting the attitude, acts, and position of all things as planned, or pertaining to the supernatural beings who enter the realms of heaven and earth—now those guardians were Tane-te-wananga, Tupai-whakarongo-wananga, and Rongo-maraeroa.

An original version of the foregoing matter will be found in Part IV of the Addenda.

Of the first three *poutiriao* mentioned, Te Kuwatawata is the guardian of the entrance to the underworld. Hurumanu is the origin of all sea-birds. The various Rua personify mentality, knowledge and its acquirement. The various Tahu are personifications of disease and sickness. The next three *poutiriao*—viz., Uru, Roiho, and Roake—were all members of the primal progeny, as also were Tangaroa, Te Pu-whakahara, Kiwa, Tukapua, Tu-matauenga, Tumata-kaka, Te Akaaka-matua, Te Ikaroa, Uepoto, Mauhi, Taka-urunga, Kekerewai, Tane, Tupai (*alias* Paia), Rongo, and probably Tiwhana. Hawaiki-nui is the meeting-place of the spirits of the dead. Tukapua personifies clouds, Te Ihorangi represents

rain, and Tama-te-uira lightning. The various Maiki are identical with the various Tahu, as Tahu-maikiroa, noted above. Te Ikaroa is represented by the Milky Way. Rongomai-taharangi and Rongomai-tahanui are caretakers of the heavenly bodies; they are stationed on either side of the Milky Way. Rongomai-tu-waho seems to personify space. Ngana-ngana-a-rangi and Turamarama-a-nuku are of the offspring of Rangi, and Tane-matua is one of the many names of Tane of the sun. Tane-te-hokahoka is one of the origins of birds.

In another version of the procuring of the three receptacles of esoteric knowledge from Io, the names of the "baskets" differ. This word *kete* means "a basket," but it is also employed in other ways; thus the ocean and the forest are both spoken of as "food-baskets" by the Maori, because each furnish plentiful food-supplies. With this singular phrase employed by the Maori may be compared that of the Buddhists, who used it in a similar way. Says J. E. Carpenter, in his *Comparative Religion*, "The Buddhist Scriptures were early grouped in three divisions under the title of the 'Three Baskets.'"

We are told that Tane and Tama-i-waho, when on this quest, ascended to the heavens in the *orongonui*, or summer season, and that season-name was so given on account of Tane having obtained at that time the two sacred stones and the three "baskets" of the *wananga*.

The account of the three baskets of occult knowledge given by Te Matorohanga, of Wai-rarapa, differs somewhat from the foregoing. He tells us that the two *whatu kura*, or sacred stones, were of the kinds of stone known as *huka-a-tai* and *rehutai;* that they were celestial stones, and served as *whatu* for the "baskets" of the *wananga*. They represented, in a way, the esoteric knowledge of those teachings and its *mana*. They were placed in the basket named Whaka-awhirangi, the threading-cord to close and secure that basket being named Aho-tiritiri. The "baskets" of knowledge were as follows:—

(1.) The Kete-uruuru-tipua: The *uruuru tipua* was the *wananga;* the basket was named Wahirangi, and the tying-cord Papawai.

(2.) The Kete-uruuru-tawhito: The *uruuru tawhito* was the *wananga;* the basket was Ruruku-o-te-rangi, and the tying-cord Te Whiwhinga-o-te-rangi.

(3.) The Kete-uruuru-matua: The *uruuru matua* was the *wananga*, the basket was Whanui.

The straps used in carrying the *wananga* and the sacred stones when they were brought down to earth were known as Whitirau (Kawerau in some versions). According to the teachings of some priestly experts the names of the three baskets were the Kete-tua, the Kete-aro, and the Kete-matua. It was, however, decided at a meeting of the famous *wananga* council of Te Ra-wheoro at Uawa that these names are not authorized.

The *uruuru tipua* lore was connected with ritual matters, sacerdotal formulae and ceremonial. That of the *uruuru tawhito* was concerned with evil in all its phases and ramifications, as seen in the enduring world. The *uruuru matua* pertains to peace and the arts of peace, everything that serves to promote the welfare of man. In addition to these the *uruuru rangi* basket is that in which the *huka-a-tai* sacred stone was placed, while the *rehutai* stone was placed in another called the *uruuru tau* basket. These were the baskets of knowledge—that is to say, these represent the scope of the esoteric lore obtained from Io the Parent and conserved in Whare-kura for the benefit of man, the descendants of the Primal Parents.

Now, Whiro obtained the two sacred stones and deposited them in Tu-te-aniwaniwa. When, after he and his companions retreated from the battlefields of Te Paerangi, they descended Tahekeroa, the long descent to the underworld, the stones were left in Tu-te-aniwaniwa, whence they were conveyed by Tu-matauenga and Te Akaaka-matua to Whare-kura, and there deposited. Shortly afterwards Takahuritea and Ruaroa (messengers of Whiro) arrived, having come to procure the stones. Subsequently the *rehutai* stone was

delivered into the custody of the tutelary beings (*poutiriao*) of Hine-moana (personified form of the ocean) -that is, to Tangaroa and his companions—whereupon it received the name of the Whatu Kura of Tangaroa. The other stone, the *huka-a-tai* one, was handed over by Uru-te-ngangana to his younger brother Tane, and it was named the Whatu Kura of Tane. Thus was the *wananga* introduced into the world from Rangiatea, in the uppermost heaven, and deposited in Whare-kura, on earth, and afterwards in Rangitapu, a house that was situated at Kaupekanui, at Tawhiti-pamamao, in the land of Irihia. There were thus three different places at which the *wananga* was deposited.

Tane and Whiro strive for Mastery : The Great Contest between Light and Darkness.

We have seen that Tane and Whiro represented light and darkness, life and death, even as, among the ancient Persians, Ormuzd was the King of Light, &c., and Ahriman the Prince of Darkness and the evil being or principle. Hear what Carpenter says in his *Comparative Religion :* " The oppositions of light and darkness belong to every zone all round the world, and perhaps were most strongly felt among the Indo-Iranian branches of the great Aryan family."

The causes of the separation of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, as among themselves, are these :—

(1.) Their sufferings in (or at) the *ahuru tahataha nui* at Te Manga-nui-o-tawa, where Whitiwhiti-karaua and Kewa suffered.

(2.) The slaying of their brother Kaupeka, killed by Tu-matauenga and Te Akaaka-matua.

(3.) The severing of the limbs of their mother, as also those of their father.

(4.) The turning of the forefront of their mother (the earth) downward, and her back uppermost, and the trampling of her down to the Muriwai-hou.

(5.) The persistent use of the names of Tane-nui-a-Rangi by Tupai and others in ritual chants pertaining to all matters conducted by them at all times.

(6.) The performance by Rehua and Ruatau of the *pure* rite over Tane and Tupai on Maunganui.

(7.) The detaching by Tane of their offspring, Te Ra-kura (sun), Te Marama-i-whanake (moon), Kopu (Venus), Autahi (Canopus), Tawera (morning star), Parearau, Matariki (Pleiades), Ikaroa (Milky Way), Whakaahu, Whanui (Vega), and a multitude more, and putting them to roam round the breast of their ancestor.

(8.) The acquirement by Tane of the *wananga* (occult knowledge) and the *whatu* (sacred talismanic stones).

(9.) The performance of the *pure* rite over Tane in the uppermost of the twelve heavens.

(10.) The refusal to consent to the giving of the *kete uruuru tau* —that is, the knowledge of the art of black magic—to Whiro.

(11.) The assumption of superiority by Tane in separating them to such places as he deemed fit.

(12.) The misfortune suffered by their younger brother Whakaruaumoko when the face of the Earth Mother was turned downward, thus separating their younger brother from them in this world.

Such were the causes of war occurring among the family, when they suffered at Te Paerangi, and the path by way of Tahekeroa became a regular thing that draws the current of death to the Po. These were the origins of the enmity between Tane and Whiro (personified forms of light and darkness) which led to a long and bitter contest between them. With the Maori this conception was not so far advanced as it was with the Persians and some other races. It was not a clearly defined struggle between good and evil. Clearly enough Whiro represents evil, but in Tane we have not a pronounced

good principle, though the tenor of old myths, and the mental attitude of the Maori, show us that he was considered to be in the right. This was clearly a case of a myth in the making; another step in development would have placed it on a level with the Persian concept. Of this old concept pertaining to light and darkness Tylor wrote: "The conception of the light-god as the good deity, in contrast to a rival god of evil, is one plainly suggested by nature, and naturally recurring in the religions of the world. The Khonds of Orissa may be counted its most perfect modern exponents in barbaric culture." Among these Khonds the qualities of good and evil seem to have extended through all nature, all matter, animate and inanimate, as our Maori folk taught.

In Conder's work entitled *The Rise of Man* appears a reference to the effect of darkness on early man: "The terror of darkness caused him to regard all evil beings as belonging to the dark, and all good beings as belonging to light, and to life-giving warmth, as contrasted with the cold of death." This was assuredly the origin of the Maori myths concerning Tane and Whiro, and the old-time Maori has elaborated these peculiar mythopoetic ideas into a connected theogonic recital. Here we actually see gods in the making, and, had the Maori become possessed of a script, these myths would have passed into his sacred books, and been preserved in that form. For such was the genesis of our Bible, and the sacred books of other faiths.

Had the Maori carried the development of this myth further he would undoubtedly have evolved a belief in good and evil principles, in a moral God and an antagonistic Devil. He already had in Whiro the Destroyer the personification of evil, the making of a very excellent devil, but in the case of his adversary Tane development had not extended so far, for the latter cannot be said to be the emblem of goodness. And yet, in the Maori mind, we can apparently detect the feeling that Tane represents what is right, that he was the proper being to receive the various privileges and honours awarded to him. It seems as though, subconsciously, the Maori was beginning to realize that the opponent of a being personifying evil must be identified with qualities that oppose evil. A further development could only have ended as in the case of the Persian myth. Again, as Whiro the evil one is a denizen of the underworld, that place would unquestionably have been resolved into a hell, and eventually into an abiding-place for the spirits of persons whose life was evil in this world. In such development two awkward questions would have arisen to be solved by the myth-makers, as represented by the disposal of Io and the Dawn Maid. Inasmuch as Io, the Supreme Being, is a moral god who cannot be associated with evil, and ranks far above Tane, he could scarcely have been set aside in favour of the latter. And, in the case of Hine-titama, or Hine-nui-te-po, the former Dawn Maid, she who guards the spirits in the underworld from dread Whiro, how would she have been disposed of? But these idle questions are vain, for what man can probe the mind of neolithic myth-makers?

After his failure to secure the *wananga* from Tane, Whiro became much embittered, and determined to wage ceaseless war against him, though Uru and others endeavoured to show him that Tane was entitled to the prize he had secured. Tane now sent a messenger to Uru-te-ngangana to ask him to abandon Whiro; that messenger was Kiwa. Whiro replied with threats against Tane and his companions, and after this Whiro caused more trouble by taking away the wife of Uru, and retaining her. Uru now left Whiro and joined Tane and Tupai at Huaki-pouri. For by his act Whiro had taken his own granddaughter to wife:—

Whiro-te-tupua = Te Kohurangi
|
Hine-makohu = Puhaorangi
|
Iriiripua = Uru-te-ngangana.

Peace was now made between Uru and Tane.

All these evil acts emanated from Whiro; he was the instigator, the cause of all bad feeling and quarrels among the primal offspring. In the struggle between Tane and Whiro the latter and Tu-matauenga were the most able and courageous beings of their side, the most remarkable being Tu; hence the saying, *He uri toa na Tu-matauenga* (a brave descendant of Tu-matauenga); as also the following: *Ko nga rakau o Tu-matauenga o rakau* (your weapons are the weapons of Tu-matauenga). Tumata-kaka was another famed warrior of that party, a co-worker with Tu in controlling operations. On the side of Tane, the famous experts were Tupai, Tumata-huki, and Tukapua; these controlled the *tapu* fires and ritual directed against Whiro.

Tane now decided to strive against Whiro, and the struggle was a long and severe one. The following are the names of the battles fought by the two forces: Te Paerangi, Waitaha-a-rangi, Waiharo-rangi, Whitiwhiti-rere-pari, Puoro-rangi, Tangi-apakura, Te Arahuapae. The end of the contest was that Whiro was defeated, and he then descended by way of Tahekeroa (long descent) to Rarohenga, the underworld.

The principal beings on the side of Tane during this struggle were:—

Tane-matua.	Raka-maomao.	Peketua.	Parauri.
Uru-te-ngangana.	Rongo-maraeroa.	Rangahua.	Uruao.
Roiho.	Tiwhanui.	Te Mamaru.	Kewa.
Roake.	Punaweko.	Tukapua.	Tauru-rangi.
Haepuru.	Te Kuwatawata.	Tama-te-uira.	Taiepa.
Te Ihorangi.	Uepoto.	Te Pu-whakahara.	Hurumanu.
Te Ikaroa.			

When Whiro descended to the underworld he went to the abode of Ruaumoko and Hine-nui-te-po, and proposed that they two should continue the war in order to avenge the separation of their parents, and Ruaumoko consented. Whiro then proposed that they should return to the *ao-turoa*, this upper world, to fight; but Ru said, "You all belong to the upper world; go you thither and fight. But I belong to the underworld, and will conduct my own warfare from here." Whiro inquired, "But what weapons will serve you?" Replied Ruaumoko, "I will procure one from Puna-te-waro, wherein is conserved the *ahi komau*."

Now, this *ahi komau* (subterranean fire) is also known as the *ahi tipua* (supernatural fire) and as *ahi tahito*. This is the weapon of Ruaumoko, the youngest of the offspring of Papa, he who was yet a suckling babe when the Earth Mother was turned over. This is the weapon which he turned against man, by means of which he makes land and sea tremble, which engulfs land, destroys trees, rocks, man, and all other things. And Whiro located Maiki-nui, Maiki-roa, Maiki-whekaro (personified forms of sickness and disease), and all their dread brethren in the underworld. Ever they dwell within Tai-whetuki, the House of Death; ever they assail man and destroy him. As old as the days of human sorrow is the ceaseless procession from Tai-ao to Tai-whetuki.

Now, the origin of the *ahi komau*, or subterranean fire, was as follows: When the Earth Mother was turned over, face down to Rarohenga, Paia said to Tane, "I am consumed by sorrow, and sympathize deeply with our younger brother Ruaumoko. Let us take him from the breast of our mother to dwell with us." But Tane said, "That we cannot do; rather let us leave him to warm the breast of our mother." When the offspring were about to turn the Earth Mother over, Paia said, "Let us give our younger brother fire." This was agreed to, and so fire was given to Ruaumoko. This fire was obtained from Rakahore (the personified form of rock). That fire was placed in *houama* (a tree—*Entelea arborescens*).

This term *ahi komau* calls for some explanation. It may be rendered as "covered fire." As a verb *komau* means "to cover fire, as with ashes," often done in order to keep embers alive. This term has been applied to subterranean fire because it is covered by the earth—only seen as in volcanic outbursts.

Now, that contest between Tane and Whiro was not conducted in one place; struggles between the two forces took place in all realms, on earth, in the heavens, in space, and in the waters. The general name for the long-drawn struggle is Te Paerangi.

The places at which Ruaumoko and his family lived were—

Huruatea.	Te Ngaere-i-waho.	Toko-tu-ki-te-rangi.	Te Pupuha-o-te-rangi.
Wai-kapuka.	Whetuki.	Te Puha-o-Rarohenga.	Maruanuku.
Maruaroa.	Te Oiroa.	Mauri-oho.	Te Mominuku.

These are the places whereat was conserved the *ahi komau* or *ahi tahito* (primeval fire) given by Tupai to Ruaumoko.

When Hine-titama, overcome by apprehension and vague dread, was forced by a feeling of shame to flee by way of Whiti-anaunau to Poutere-rangi, and descend to Rarohenga (the underworld), she found Ruaumoko alone at his home. These two mated, and their offspring were—

Takataka-huri-rangi.	Rua-huna.	Maru-hauata.	Puhoro-nuku.
Kauahi.	Pou-turumakina.	Horonga-i-whaoa.	Tua-rangaranga.
Ruaroa.	Whakarau-awhea.	Kawerau-awha.	Te Oi-nuku.
Rua-mahu-nui.	Whakarau-angiangi.	Moko-iwaiwa.	Te Oi-rangi.
Takataka-huri-atea.	Maru-mutu.	Moko-ihu-tonga.	Aneane-whenua.
Rua-eneene.			

These were the beings appointed to inspect the forefront of their grandmother Papa-tuanuku, or, as she is also called, Papa-matua-te-kore (Papa the Parentless). And when we feel the dread shock of Hine-tuoi, the Earthquake Maid, we may know that Ruaumoko is active and is assailing the offspring of Tane of the upper world.

The name Tai-whetuki is another singular abstraction. It is an expression used to denote an imaginary house in which are retained all evils such as sickness, disease, misfortune, and death. This house belongs to Whiro, and with him dwell the Maiki brethren (personified forms of disease) and other dread beings, the agents of Whiro. That so-called house is situated in the underworld, but is sometimes said to be situated at Te Pakaroa, at Kaupekanui, in the original homeland of the race. This is one of a number of cases in which the old homeland is confused with the underworld, which often creates a very puzzling situation for the student. It is probably owing to the fact that spirits of the dead are supposed to go back to the old motherland ere passing to the spirit-world. At Tai-whetuki were cultivated all arts pertaining to the destructiom of life in man, the lower animals, and in the vegetable world.

Our readers will probably place an accusing finger upon a weak spot in Maori ethology—namely, the origin of evil. In one version we have seen that Tane obtained from Io the Supreme Being the three "baskets" of esoteric knowledge, one of which contained the knowledge of evil. We are also told that Io caused all supernatural beings to exist, hence he is responsible for the existence of Whiro, and Whiro personifies evil; he is the worker of evil in the world. Possibly the Maori, knowing that evil exists in the world, and is apparently permanent and ineradicable, traces it to the origin of all things and so disposes of the question. Evil is here, and we must make the best we can of it. Each man must choose for himself.

In a paper entitled "Ormuzd and Ahriman: the Eternal Pre-existence of Good and Evil," by F. W. Frankland, published in the *Monthly Review* of 1889, the writer remarks on "the theoretical ascription of Satan's own existence to the fiat of Jehovah Himself." He adds: "Nothing but a theory of the independence of Satan's origin, or of his eternal pre-existence, can relieve the cause of all good from the charge, which otherwise must be brought against it, of being the cause of evil also." The author sees in a belief in this eternal pre-existence of evil, as taught in Zoroastrianism, a way out of all perplexities and wrong deductions such as harass us. He places the origin of Satan and evil, as inferred in the Scriptures, on a level with Maori teachings.

The Maori concept of evil differed from our own, inasmuch as it extended not only to the lower animals, but also to what we term inanimate things; each thing is both good and evil after the manner of its kind. It is quite possible that he also held the primitive belief in the eternal pre-existence of evil, not that it emanated from Io, or was permitted by him to appear and exist.

The Names of Tane.

The titles of this personification, as given by various tribes, differ considerably, and thus his list of names is an extended one, as shown below:—

(1.) Tane-nui-a-Rangi.
(2.) Tane-te-waiora.
(3.) Tane-te-po-tiwha.
(4.) Tane-te-wananga.
(5.) Tane-te-hiringa.
(6.) Tane-matua.
(7.) Tane-i-te-mahara.
(8.) Tane-te-wananga-a-rangi.
(9.) Tane-i-te-kapua.
(10.) Tane-ue-ha (*or* ua-ha).
(11.) Tane-ue-tika (*or* ua-tika).
(12.) Tane-tuturi.
(13.) Tane-pepeke.
(14.) Tane-tuoi.
(15.) Tane-mahuta.
(16.) Tane-te-waotu.
(17.) Tane-mataahi.
(18.) Tane-tikitiki.
(19.) Tane-toko-rangi.
(20.) Tane-ruanuku.
(21.) Tane-tahu-rangi.
(22.) Tane-puhau-rangi.
(23.) Tane-te-aparangi.
(24.) Tane-tauru-rangi.
(25.) Tane-torokaha.
(26.) Tane-whirikaha.
(27.) Tane-turere.
(28.) Tane-kunawhea.
(29.) Tane-wheo.
(30.) Tane-akaaka-matua.
(31.) Tane-maikiroa.
(32.) Tane-te-whawhanga.
(33.) Tane-wainui.
(34.) Tane-waipatato.
(35.) Tane-waikokina.
(36.) Tane-takoto.
(37.) Tane-kupapaeo.
(38.) Tane-mimi-whare.
(39.) Tane-wharoro.
(40.) Tane-te-matatu.
(41.) Tane-tutaka.

We have seen how Tane acquired his title of Tane-nui-a-Rangi, Great Tane, offspring of Rangi. As Tane-te-waiora he represents life, prosperity, welfare, sunlight. No. 3 of his names presumably equals that of Osiris, the sun during its sojourn in the underworld—that is, during the night-time. Nos. 4, 5, 7, and 8 represent him as the personified form of knowledge—high-class or esoteric knowledge. No. 9 appears to denote a connection with clouds, and No. 14 is evidently connected with an expression in the vernacular that is applied to the sun—viz., *ra tuoi*. Nos. 15 and 16 betoken his connection with trees and forests, and No. 17 is his name as the origin of birds. Now, although Tane was the origin of both trees and birds, and is mentioned as the personified form of trees and timber, yet he does not seem to personify birds. The personified forms of birds are Punaweko and Hurumanu. In No. 18 we appear to see a name denoting the importance of Tane, even as No. 6 shows him as Tane the Parent. No. 19 represents him as the sky-lifter, he who shored up the heavens; and No. 20 presents him as the wise one, on account of his acquiring the famed three baskets. In 21 we have Tane as he who heats the heavens, and 24 probably refers to his position in the heavens. In 25 we have Tane as the virile one, a name that is also applied to Tiki. In 27 we may have an allusion to the disappearance of the sun at sunset, he who steals away. No. 31 is a puzzling title, for it apparently connects Tane with sickness, a connection concerning which we have no information.

The name of Tane-te-hokahoka pertains to another member of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, and this being is also said to be an originator of bird-life, but apparently occupies an inferior position to that of the Tane under discussion. Again, there appears in Maori myth the name of one Tane-rore, who is said to be the offspring of Raumati (summer). The peculiar quivering appearance of heated air seen in summer is called the dancing of Tane-rore (*te haka a Tane-rore*).

The Quest of the Female Element.

The offspring of the primal parents had long pondered over the subject of man—that is, the producing of a non-supernatural race of descendants to inhabit the world.

Inasmuch as they were all male beings themselves, it was necessary that a female being be found to take the place of the mother of the new race. Also, the fact that all the primal offspring were of a supernatural nature demanded that a non-supernatural female be found, otherwise her offspring also would be supernatural, which was not deemed desirable, the aim being to produce a normal, non-supernatural, mortal race.

It was at first proposed that the female denizens of the heavens be utilized for the purpose, but the fact of their being supernatural creatures was remembered, and so some other had to be sought. It was also recognized that the desired female must pertain to the earth, and not to the heavens; she must be earth-born.

The offspring now separated and scattered over the face of the earth in search of the female element, or, as it is termed in native recitals, the *uha*. This word is now applied only to the female sex of the lower animals, and to trees that the Maori believes to be female. In the old anthropogenic myths it denotes the non-supernatural female element as represented by woman born of the earth. This search was a long-continued one. It was carried into all realms, all regions, but met with no success: earth-born mortal woman was non-existent. So the long quest of the female element came to nought. It was then that originated the old and oft-quoted triptych, *Te kitea; te rawea; te whiwhia* (Unseen; unsuitable; unacquired).

The next act was to examine the offspring of all things; hence the females of all things were caused to conceive and bring forth their young, that these might be examined as to their suitability. It was seen that lizards produced eggs, which eggs did not seem to be quite normal, hence it was resolved that birds alone should produce eggs in future, and that lizards should bring forth their young in the same form as themselves (should be viviparous). In the case of the *tuatara* (*Sphenodon punctatum*), this creature seems to have been produced by the first egg ever made, hence it still produces eggs, and so it is said to be allied to birds. It was now seen, however, that no suitable female existed among all these many creatures.

In the ordinary fireside version of this myth Tane is said to have mated with many different kinds of female beings, but the offspring of such beings were all unsuitable, as indeed a perusal of the list clearly shows. For instance, Tane mated with Hine-tu-maunga, the Mountain Maid, and she produced Para-whenuamea (personified form of water). He then mated with Hine-waoriki, who produced the *kahika* and *matai* (two trees, *Podocarpus dacrydioides* and *P. spicatus*); and with Mumuhanga, or Mumuwhango, who produced the *totara* (*Podocarpus totara*); and with Tukapua, who produced the *tawai* (*Fagus fusca*); and with Mangonui, who produced the *tawa* and *hinau* (*Beilschmiedia tawa* and *Elaeocarpus dentatus*); and with Te Pu-whakahara, who produced the *maire* (*Olea* spp.); and with Rerenoa, who produced the *rata* (*Metrosideros robusta*); and with Ruru-tangi-akau, who produced the *ake* (*Dodonea viscosa*); and with Punga, who produced all insects and vermin; and with Tu-toro-whenua, who produced *aruhe* (edible rhizome of *Pteris aquilina*); and with Parauri, who produced the *tui* (bird); and with Haere-awaawa, who produced the *weka* (bird). So were trees, plants, birds, and insects generated, but the female element to produce the *ira tangata*, or human life, was not found.

In the matter collected by Mr. John White is a short account of Tane and Tiki. This version states that Tane begat or formed Tiki-tohua, who produced birds; then Tiki-kapakapa, who produced fish and the *tui* (bird); then Tiki-auaha, who produced man; then Tiki-whakaeaea, who produced Hurunga, who mated with Pani, who produced the *kumara* (*Ipomoea batatas*). This version looks somewhat puzzling, but we shall see anon that Tane and Tiki were not two distinct individuals.

Another version, given by the Tuhoe folk, states that Tiki belonged to the Po, the dim period prior to the existence of man, and that he mated with Ea, who was of this world, their daughter being Kurawaka, with whom Tane mated, and begat Hine-titama.

Yet another version is that Tiki created the first woman, apparently by vivifying an earthen image. He formed two mounds of earth, and in one of these, called Tuahu-a-te-rangi, he placed a wand called the *tira o te ora*, or *tira ora* (wand of life or welfare). In the other mound, known as Pukenui-a-Papa, he placed a wand termed the *tira mate* (wand of death and misfortune). Then, by means of his great powers, he produced woman from the latter mound, which represents the Po, and overthrew the *tira mate* wand; whereupon Roiho, one of the *whatukura* of the uppermost heaven, remarked: "See, O Tiki! You have overthrown woman." Now, this singular allegory has never been explained; it is one of the symbolical abstractions beloved by the Maori folk. Evidently the first mound was connected with Rangi, the heavens, with the male element, life and welfare; and the second with earth, the female element, misfortune and death. The inferiority of the female sex is emphasized, even as Hine-ahu-one was inferior to Tane.

Again, a Ngati-Awa version states that when Tane was in search of the *uha* (female element, woman) he made inquiries of Rangi, the Sky Parent, who replied, "The *whare o aitua* is below, while the *whare o te ora* is above" (*i.e.*, the abode or realm of misfortune is below, that of life is above). This "house" of misfortune, of ominous inferiority, is represented by this world, by the earth, by the female sex, and by the female organ of generation, which holds dread powers of destruction and pollution. Here on earth alone is death known, for the denizens of the heavens are all supernormal beings endowed with eternal life.

One version of this myth has it that the quest of the female element fit to produce woman was a vain one; the *uha* was not found. But when Tane ascended to the uppermost heaven in quest of the *wananga*, he was told by the celestial females of Rangi-kapiti, in the eleventh heaven, that in order to possess woman he must form one at Kurawaka—or, as some term it, the One-i-Kurawaka (the strand at Kurawaka). The way was now clear to Tane.

The Finding of the Uha: The Earth-formed Maid created by Tane.

Tane and his brethren then gathered at Kurawaka, which is the *puke* (*mons veneris*) of the Earth Mother, and there formed an image composed of earth, a portion of the body of Papa, their mother. They made the figure so as to resemble themselves; the skeleton, head, body, and limbs, all were similar, save the *aroaro*, which was adorned by the eye of Tiwhaia, plucked out for the purpose. Punaweko (personified form of birds) provided the hair as an adornment. It was then left for Tane to instil the breath of life into the nostrils, mouth, and ears of the lifeless figure. Then the human airlike breath came forth, the eyelids opened, the eyes gazed, the mouth gasped, a sneeze broke from the nostrils—a sneeze of life, of a living soul in this world, of a person, a female. Woman had entered the world!

We are told that the *wairua* (spirit), the *manawa ora* (breath of life), and the blood were provided by Io the Supreme Being, and obtained by Rehua. The lungs were provided by Tawhiri-matea. The *mahara* (thinking-power) was furnished by the *whatukura*, denizens of the uppermost heaven; and thought is personified in Rua-i-te-hiringa, Rua-i-te-pukenga, Rua-i-te-mahara, and Rua-i-te-wananga. Thus the various organs and faculties necessary to the creation of the first woman—that is, of the *ira tangata*—were obtained from three sources, the Supreme Being, the attendant denizens of the heavens, and from the offspring of the Earth Mother. These three sources combined produced, we are told, the *ira tangata*, human life. The part performed by the Earth Mother was that of sheltering, nurturing, cherishing; she represents the receptive and passive element, while Tane represents the

active, fertilizing, creative male element. Thus was Hine-ahu-one formed at the One-i-Kurawaka as a receptacle, an abiding-place for the organs, the spirit, breath of life, and faculties that formed and vivified the *uha*, the female of the *ira tangata*.

When Hine-ahu-one acquired life she was taken to the sacred place at Mauri-takina, where the performance of certain ritual ceremonies relieved her of the intense *tapu* pertaining to her.

The following is another version of the quest of the female element, and the forming of Hine-ahu-one :—

Tane now considered that the *ira tangata*, or human life, would never be found among *ira atua*, or supernatural life. He said to Uru-te-ngangana and Roiho, "The *ira tangata* cannot be found; who has the semblance of such?" Uru replied, "O Tane! The *ira tangata* exists not in all things known to us. We must engage in a search for the *uha*." Even so the offspring of Rangi and Papa separated, and set forth to search all realms for the female element that might produce man, arranging to assemble at Rangitatau in the *orongonui* season. So sought they the *uha*—finding the female of all things, all species, but the *uha* of the *ira tangata*, or mortal human female, was not found by them.

Now, Roiho, Roake, Haepuru, and Haematua, who had sympathized with Rangi-nui when the primal parents were separated, called down from the back of Rangi, saying, "O Tane! Proceed to the *puke* (*mons veneris*) of our mother, and there form the *uha;* that is its place." Hence the offspring went to the pubes of Papa, at Kurawaka, and there formed the *uha*, the first woman.

In the forming of the image the head was fashioned by Haematua, Roiho, Roake, and Haepuru. Uru-te-ngangana fetched the eyes from Wharekura, the eyes of Tiwhaia being extracted wherewith to adorn the *uha*, while a small portion of Ao-kapua (representing clouds) was placed as a setting for these eye-pupils (the white of the eye was a fragment of a white cloud). The bones were formed by Tupai; the sinews and muscles were arranged in their places by Tu-matauenga and Te Akaaka-matua. The stomach and entrails were formed by Rongo-maraeroa and Turamarama-a-nuku; the kidneys and liver by Tumata-huki and Tumata-rauiri. The heart, water, and blood were fetched from Io-te-waiora, the Eternal Parent, by the *whatukura* and *mareikura* of the uppermost heaven. The lungs were obtained by Tawhiri-matea and Tukapua from the clouds, in order to moisten the scattered parts of the body. The tongue and throat were provided by Tanga-i-waho and Rua-taumata; the nose and lips by Rongomai-tu-waho and Tumata-kaka. The *puta hikahika* was formed by Rongo-whakaata and Uepoto. Tiwhaia located the *timutimu* (*pudenda muliebria*). Mauhi extended the *raho* (*labia majora*), Taiepa and Peketua arranged it as a covering. Punaweko and Hurumanu provided the hair as an adornment and covering (*tupini*). Te Ihorangi and Toro-i-waho provided the *pae* of the *tiki* and the *waipipi*. Te Ra-kura and Nganangana-a-rangi arranged the *puapua* so as to shelter the *tiki*. Te Kuwatawata and Uruao arranged the *werewere;* Tawhana and Uenuku-rangi placed the *mokakati* between the *pae-o-tiki* and the *puapua*. Tane himself placed the *maunene* at the farther end, as also its weapon the *wairutua*, whereupon the contest between Tiki and Karihi became continual; peace between that twain is unknown.*

The offspring now consulted as to who should take position on the pubes of Papa, and it was decided that Tane should so act. Tane then, by a series of acts, produced various exudations from the body, whereupon Roiho said to him, "*E Tane! Horahia i te takapau rangi, waiho i te toi matua, i te toi ora ki taiao*"—a cryptic expression by

* These names refer to the female organ and to coition.

no means easy of translation. Then, as Tane vivified the image, Paia chanted the following ritual:—

E hine . . . e
Tenei au, he tama na Rangi-nui
Iere tu ki tenei tama
E hine . . . e.
Ahua to uru tapu, ahua to tinana puhi
Ahua o kikokiko, o uaua
Ahua o iwi, ahua o waewae, o ringaringa
Ahua i roto, ahua i waho
Ki te toi ora na Io nui
Na Io matua, na Io te waiora
Na Io te mahara
Ki te hiringa tipua, ki te hiringa tahito nou
E Io te wananga . . . e . . . i.

E tupu o kikokiko, o iwi, o uaua, o toto
To manawa, to ate, to pukapuka, o takihi
Ki te toi ora o Io nui
Ki tenei hine . . . e . . . i.
Tenei au kei te pu, kei te weu
Kei te hiringa tipua i te atua ki a koe
E hine . . . e . . . i.
Purangi to hiringa, purangi o mahara
Purangi to hauora, purangi to hau manawa
Ki taiao nei, e hine . . . e.
Purangi aho o mata, e hine . . . e . . . i.
Ki taiao nei . . . e . . . i.

Now, Tane was panting as he breathed into the mouth and nostrils, and then Hine acquired life. A sigh of life came from her, the soul-principle possessed her, a sneeze betokened life in the organs; Hine-ahu-one, the Earth-formed Maid, the first woman, lived. The *ira tangata* had entered the world. And even as a sneeze was the first sign of organic life in the image, so does the saying *Tihere mauri ora ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama* (Sneeze, living soul, in the world of being, in the world of life) come down the long ages to the present time.

Then, as Tane-matua begat the firstfruit of the *ira tangata*, he chanted the following over Tiki:—

He tama au, he tipua au
He tane au nou, e hine . . . e . . . i.
E hine i te pu, e hine i te weu
E hine i te akaaka matua
E hine i te akaaka tipua
Ki te kauru ora, ki te whai ao,
Ki te ao marama ki au, e hine . . . e . . . i.
Tenei au kei te uru tu, kei te uru tau
Ki a koe, e hine . . . e . . . i.
He tiki te ahua, he tiki te whaia, he tiki i ahua
Ki te paepae waitau, ki te paepae wai nau
E hine . . . e . . . i.
I ahua te papa ueue ki te piere
Ki te papa makuku
Ahua to ara waitau, to ara pipiwai
Ahua ki te ara karihi

Ahua he puapua, he werewere
Ahua he tawahie, he hanahana
Ahua ki a koe, e mokakati
Whakaoti hiku ki a koe,
E maunene . . . e . . . i. E karihi . . . e . . . i.
Tenei ka tu
Tenei ka tau ki roto he tipua nou
E tiki nui, e tiki roa
E tiki matua, e tiki waiora
He tiki atua ki a koe, e hine . . . e . . . i.
Tenei taku tiki nui, taku tiki roa
Taku tiki torokaha.
Ko tiki te mumura, ko tiki te hahana
Hahana ki roto ki to piere tau
Ki to piere awa karihi, e hine . . . e . . . i.

At this juncture Haepuru took up the recitation, as follows:—

E hine i ana hahana
Te pae matua hahana
I te puapua hahana
I o werewere hahana

I to katitohe hahana
I to karihi uru tipua
E hine . . . e . . . i.

Hine was now a breathing woman; she had entered the world of life and being. Her mission was to give birth to the *ira tangata*, to man endowed with the vitality of this world. And this slaying or overcoming of Tiki is known as the death or fall of Tikinui at the reddened waters of Karihi-tapoa, while the place where Hine-ahu-one was fashioned and vivified is ever known as Te One-i-Kurawaka (the strand at Kurawaka).

Hine was then taken to the *ahurewa*, or sacred place, of Hawaiki-nui, where the *pure* ritual was intoned over her, after which another ceremony, performed at the *turuma* of Rangitatau, released her from *tapu*. She was then taken to the water set aside for ceremonial performances, the *wai hauparoa*, and immersed therein, where the *tohi*, or baptismal rite, was performed over her, and she received the name of Hine-ahu-one, of which Hine-hau-one is a variant form.

We now see that Hine-ahu-one was a being partly supernatural or godlike, and partly mortal, or, rather, of earthly origin. The two were combined in her, and the result was man, the human race; the name man (*homo*) began with her. The *wairua* (spirit) of the godlike supernatural beings was now transferred in part to the human race, a condition that has continued until the present time. The seed of life is with the male, with the female is the passive, nurturing haven bed. The seed (or fruit) of the god is with the male, because he is the offspring of gods. The female sprang from the earth, and with her are the nurturing waters. The blood and the vital essence emanated from the god. The female is the shelterer, the one who nurtures, and by whom all things are caused to acquire form and growth. Woman was fashioned after the image of the male, and the seed of life came from Io-matangaro (Io of the Hidden Face). (See Addenda V.)

The following table shows the immediate offspring of Tane:—

Tane = Hine-ahu-one

1. Hine-titama = Tane
2. Hine-a-tauira
3. Hine-te-uira
4. Hine-mihirangi
5. Hine-weherangi
6. Hine-kapua
7. Hine-wairito
8. Hine-rau-wharangi = Te Kawe-kairangi
9. Hine-te-ahorangi
10. Hine-rau-angiangi
11. Hine-manuhiri

Hine-moana.

In another version the name Hine-rau-angiangi is given as Hine-rau-angina. With this name may be compared that of Matiti-rau-angina, apparently an expression denoting a phase of summer, or the summer sun. Tane took his firstborn daughter to wife.

In yet another version we find the following:—

Tane = Hine-ahu-one

Hine-turama = Uru-te-ngangana

Nga Whetu (the stars).

Hine-turama is a name that may be rendered as "the illuminator." Hine denotes the female sex, so Hine-turama is the light-shedding maid, or daughter of the light-giver. *Turama* is used in the same sense in the Cook Islands dialect.

The beings named in these tables as the children of Tane are all females, and doubtless all personify something, but some have not been explained. Hine-titama is the Dawn Maid; Hine-te-uira represents lightning; Hine-kapua personifies clouds; Hine-rau-wharangi, the growth of vegetation. In Hine-rau-angiangi we note a very singular name, one which I am not quite clear about, but the expression *rau angiangi* (thin leaf) seems to denote the thin, non-transparent veil that hangs between life and death. Such was an explanation given me by an old native, though I have not obtained any corroboration of it. In Hine-turama we have the personification of some form of light, evidently, for four reasons: she is a daughter of Tane; she mates with Uru-te-ngangana (Uru the Glowing One), who is connected with light; she produces the light-giving stars; and the word *turama* means "light, illuminated," also "to give light to." Hare Hongi considers that Uru-te-Ngangana represents fire, but this is not yet assured. Uru the Gleaming One goes to the underworld, to Whiro, but after a while comes back to this world and rejoins Tane; he may therefore represent the setting sun, or the sun during its nightly sojourn in the underworld, or the rising sun. Also fire is connected with the sun, as we shall see anon in the myth of Auahi-turoa.

We now come to the mating of Tane and Hine-titama, she who bounds night and day, and of whom it is said "*Titama te Po, titama te Ao*"—Hine the Dawn Maid. In an old song we note the following lines :—

Koia i noho ai Tane i a Hine-titama i konei
Ka titamatia te po, ka titamatia te ao.

The following ritual was recited by Tane over Hine-titama in order to cause her to conceive :—

Tenei au he awhi nuku, he awhi rangi nau, e hine, ki au
Koia takere rangi, koia takere nuku, koia takere wai
Takere wai uriuri ki te whai ao, ki te a marama
He wai nui, he wai tinana, he wai kai, he wai oti rangi
Ka rukutia, ka tuhikitia, ka tuhapainga he uriuri
Ka tipu, ka toro, ka whakaiho tangata
Toro te akaaka, toro te iho nui, te iho roa
Ka whakaupoko, ka whakaringaringa, ka whakawaewae,
Ka whakatinana mai koe
Tu takawhaki nuku, tu takawhaki rangi
E tu whaitiri i paoa
Ka puta i tua, ka puta i tawhito ngawariwari
E tu takawhaki karihi
E paoa ki roto ki te pokopoko nui nau, e Rangi . . . e . . . i.
Tapiki tu, tapiki nuku
Ki te whai ao, ki te ao marana, e hine, e !
He kauru nui, he kauru roa ki au nei, e hine, e !
Whai ake, whai ake ki te putahi na karihi
Whakahoro ki roto te pu nui, te pu matua
Tapi tapae auaha ki taha, auaha ki roto
Auaha ki te pae kura, ki te pae kapukapu
Ki te pae nau, e Puainuku, e puapua i teke
E puapua, e hanahana, e werewere, e katitohe
E kamu to hanahana ki karihi ora
Ki a karihi auaha nui, anaha puru
Heke to pia, heke to ware, heke to nguha
Ki tenei aro, e hine, e !

This effusion called upon Hine to conceive, and such recitals, termed *karakia whakato tamariki*, were believed to have the effect desired, the implanting of the embryo in the womb.

The child born of Tane and Hine-titama was Hine-rau-wharangi, who personifies development, growth, and expansion, not only in the vegetable world, but apparently also in the human race. Inasmuch as her mother descended to the underworld and there remained, it was left for Hine-rau-wharangi to procreate man ; hence her name, *rau* (= a leaf) *wharangi* (= expanded, spread abroad).

Hine-rau-wharangi was born in the Aonui moon (June) of the *orongonui* season. Mother and daughter were conveyed within the house Hui-te-ananui, there to dwell. When the *iho* (umbilical cord) of her high-born daughter fell away, the mother and child were conducted out of the house and placed on the *takapau wharanui* (mat used for ceremonial purposes) in the porch. The people now collected on the plaza before Hui-te-ananui, when Tupai, younger brother of Tane, who carried the sacred vessel, stood forth and took the infant in his arms, when he recited the following ritual :—

Naumai, e hine wairoto
Whakaea, whakaea to uru tapu
Whakaea, whakaea to uru waiora ki taiao nei
E tipu, e rea, e hine kahurangi ariki
Whakamau tai, whakamau o rongo
Whakamau taketake toitu ki tahito nei
E hine ariki rangi . . . e
E tipu, e rea koe he whatu ioio nui
He whatu io matua
He io taketake ki taiao nei
E Hine-rau-wharangi . . . e.

This was a chant to welcome the infant into the world of life, and called upon her to develop into a high-born, high-class parent of the new race.

All the people now participated in the *maioha*, or ceremonial greeting and welcoming of the infant, and her mother. When this ceremony was over the ceremonial mat was taken to the bank of a certain stream of water, and there spread and arranged. Hine-titama then moved on to the mat with her child, and there sat. The officiating priest then entered the stream and stood therein, the water being up to his loins. He then took the infant Hine-rau-wharangi in his arms and performed over her the baptismal rite known as the *tohi ururangi*.

In the more exoteric versions of these curious myths some other aspects are noted, and certain discrepancies. In Shortland's *Maori Religion and Mythology* Tane mates with Hine-ahu-one, who gives birth to Tiki-tohua and Tiki-kapakapa; another name for Hine-ahu-one being Hine-a-tauira. Shortland did not detect what Tiki stands for, but says that Tiki-tohua was the egg of a bird from which sprang all birds of the air. By Hine-a-tauira Tane has Hine-titama-uri; but it is Hine-a-tauira who retires to the underworld and becomes Hine-nui-te-po—possibly the error of his informant, or perhaps the recorder got his notes mixed. Hine-titama-uri grows up and is given to Tiki as a wife, their first-born child being Tiki-te-poumua, said to be the first man, who had Tiki-te-pouroto, who had Tiki-haohao, who had Tiki-ahupapa, from whom man is descended. All these names are really personified forms of the same object, and their inclusion in any line of descent is quite wrong. As to Hine-nui-te-po in the underworld, she is said to have given birth to Te Po-uriuri and Te Po-tangotango, two cosmogonic conditions already explained, and to Pare-koritawa, who mated with Tawhaki and gave birth to Uenuku and Whatitiri, personified forms of the rainbow and of thunder.

We see in the above how the Fertilizer handed over the female element to the fertilizing agent or organ (Tiki), and how the Dawn Maid gives birth to Night (Po).

In his *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. 1, Mr. White gives a brief account of Tane in which Tane is said to have mated with Tohinga, which is the name of a river in the old homeland of the race. The progeny of this twain included Hine-i-te-kukura-a-Tane, Tahora-atea, Te Pakihi, and Te Parae. The first name seems to denote a female personification, and the expression *kukura a Tane* denotes the redness or gleaming of, or emanating from, Tane. *Ukura* has a similar meaning. Tahora-atea is a term applied to the ocean, and denotes a great open expanse. The word *pakihi*, in vernacular speech, signifies open country, and *parae* denotes level open country. All these names are significant when we remember that Tane was essentially a creator; he was Tane-auaha.

To continue our narrative of the superior version of the myth: It fell upon a certain night that Hine-titama inquired of Tane, "Where is my father?" And Tane replied, "*Ina tonu*. Ask of all the posts, rafters, and battens of Hui-te-ananui; they will disclose your father to you." Whereupon she pondered, and understood. She then revealed her feelings by saying, "O sir! Now is the matter clear to me. It is you who have served me so ill. Who shall be known as a child, who as a parent, when you hold me as a wife? As you have so acted, then the void with me shall serve as a void within Poutere-rangi, in the presence of my ancestress, Papa-tuanuku. I will gaze upward at you and our offspring moving far above me."

In deep distress Hine now wailed aloud; then, as day approached, she uttered charms to cause her children to sleep soundly, and to render Tane strengthless in his pursuit of her; and then, as day came, she fled from her husband. She fled to Whiti-anaunau and on to Poutere-rangi, where was the home of Te Kuwatawata.

Te Kuwatawata inquired, "Whither are you fleeing?" Hine replied, "Let me pass to the lower region." But Te Kuwatawata said, "Return; the world of life and of human welfare is behind you, the gloom of the unknown before you. Return, O maid!" Still Hine persisted, "Pass me downward to the region of the Muriwai-hou, that I may

grasp the spiritual welfare of my children in the *ao-turoa* [upper world]." And hence, we are told, the *wairua*, or spirit, survives death, and occasionally returns to this world. It was Hine who prevented the death or destruction of the human soul, and who still protects it.

Te Kuwatawata now consented to allow Hine to descend to Rarohenga (the underworld). Then Hine turned and looked back to this world, when she saw Tane following her, wailing as he came. Then Hine called to him, "O Tane! Return to our offspring. The region of the upper world shall be allotted by me to you; to myself the region of Po." Then Hine, by means of the magical *hoa* ritual, caused the *tenga*, or *pona whakahoro kai* (*pomum Adami*) to appear in the throat of Tane, saying, "Let that remain as a token from myself to you." Hine then turned and descended through the space between earth and underworld, even to Rarohenga.

It was then that the path of death from this world down to Te Reinga (the underworld) was opened by Hine, and hence that path of Tahekeroa (long descent) became famed as Hawaiki—meaning that that place is where people of this world are *ikia* (carried away, or off) to the Po-tiwha (the unknown realm of the underworld). (See Addenda VI.)

Several versions of the parting words of the ex Dawn Maid to Tane are recorded, as, "Farewell, O Tane! Remain here to bring forth progeny to the world of life, while I will ever draw them down to the Po."

So we see that Tane (the sun) pursued his daughter the Dawn Maid far away to the westward, where, at the edge of the world, she turns and commands him to retire. This he does, for his task is an endless one; he has to beget other Dawn Maids, who, one after another, retire westward and pass into Night; they descend to the Po, the shadowy unknown underworld.

Among the natives of the Chatham Islands one Rohe was said to be the sister of the sun and wife of Maui. She became mistress of the underworld, as Hine-nui-te-po was in New Zealand myth. Rohe also appears in Maori myth.

Hine-nui-te-po had the appearance of a supernatural being; her eyes were like fire-flames, her form of great beauty. When she came forth from her house the light of her eyes was intense. When she disrobed and went to bathe, her skin was as lovely as the shimmering Summer Maid, her hair was long and beautiful. Hence a remark made to handsome women: "*Ko Hine-titama koe, matawai ana te whatu i te tirohanga*" ("You are like Hine-titama, a sight that causes the eyes to glisten").

The bathing-place used by Hine was named Wai-mahuru; her house was Wharau-rangi; her home was at Te Rua-tuwhenua, her plaza was Te Tatau-o-te-po.

A Ngai-Tahu (South Island) version of the myth concerning the creation of the first woman gives her name as Io-wahine. She was formed and vivified by Tane as a wife for Tiki-auaha (Tiki the creator).

The name of Miru as that of the goddess or lord of the underworld, widely known in Polynesia, is also known to the Maori, but not universally so, apparently. But little has been collected concerning this being, and Hine-nui-te-po is the name widely known in New Zealand.

In a work entitled *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* Mr. W. J. Perry gives a survey of evidences of a sun cult in that region. He remarks that, in the Timor region, the sun-lord is supposed to fructify the earth. Also he says, "The fertilizing agent is not the sun, but the sun-lord, who fructifies not the earth, but a being who is called the Earth Mother." This distinction is too emphatic, for doubtless these so-called beings were simply personifications of sun and earth, as are Tane and Papa. The writer has a curious theory that this sun-lord is simply a tribal ancestor, which is highly improbable. Hence the remarks that "The statement that the sun is the male principle, and the earth the female principle, is difficult to understand." As a matter of fact it is a widespread belief among native races.

The Tiki Myth and its Symbol.

In old Maori myths frequent mention is made of one Tiki, who is said in some cases to have been the maker of the first man, in others to have been himself the first man. In one version collected by White, Tiki is said to have been the first man in this world, his wife being one Marikoriko, a word denoting something unreal or phantom-like, fashioned by Tiki from the steaming or warm reek of the sun, and from echo. Another says it was Tiki-ahua who made the first man. Another is that Tane formed the first woman as a wife for Tiki, and the name of that first woman was Io-wahine. In vol. 3 of the *Polynesian Journal*, at p. 14, occurs a short paragraph from a South Island source showing that Tane fashioned Tiki from the earth. He then, in like manner, fashioned Io, and gave Tiki as a wife for Io. Here the sexes have been transposed, possibly in transcription, and the translation does not follow the original, but makes Io the wife of Tiki.

Another version is that Tane made the first man, who was named Tiki-auaha (Tiki the creator). Shortland says that Tiki married Hine-titama-uri; and no doubt he did, but his informant was wrong in inserting the name of Tiki in a genealogy, though he might, from one point of view, be termed a progenitor of man.

At the Marquesas Tiki and Hina-mata-one are the King and Queen of the underworld. At Tahiti, Ti'i (the dropped *k* of the Tahitian dialect) was the first man, and his wife was Hina the benevolent. Tiki strove to destroy man, while Hina ever saved him. His offspring was Ta'ata (man).

At Mangaia the place of descent to the underworld was called "Tiki's hole," but this Tiki was a female who prevented the return of spirits to this world to annoy the living. Tiki seems to be the custodian of the spirit-world, or the entrance thereto, elsewhere in the Cook Group. At Mangareva Tiki is said to have been the first man; his wife was Ina. The word also denotes an image. In White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. 2, p. 4 (Maori part), we are told that Io formed Tiki. In vol. 1, at pp. 126–27, are further notes concerning Tiki, as also in Tregear's *Maori Comparative Dictionary*.

A short paper on the *tiki* pendant, by Hare Hongi (see *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1918, vol. 27, p. 162), does not render the meaning of the Tiki myth quite clear. It speaks of Tiki and Hine-ahu-one as the first human pair, which is incorrect, and of Tane-tiki as the first man. This writer has not quite correctly placed Tiki, and there is scarcely any connection between this name and the verb *tiki*, to fetch. A second paper on this subject by the same writer appears at p. 199 of the same volume, in which he gets nearer the mark, though we have no clear, definite statement as to what the *tiki* is. There is clear evidence on record to which no allusion is made, but which will be found in a paper in vol. 32 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 54.

The first writer to draw attention to the peculiar mystery surrounding Tiki was Colonel Gudgeon (see the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 14 (1905), p. 126). Apparently his informants did not know what Tiki personified, but his concluding remark is very close to the truth. Speaking of the fact that, on the handles of certain carved paddles from the Austral Group, Tiki is represented as a female, he remarks: "This is interesting, and confirms my suspicion that Tiki was the principle of life in human form, complete in him or her self, and might therefore be properly represented as of either sex."

In vol. 3 of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, published in 1913, appeared some very clear evidence as to the meaning of *tiki*, although, curiously enough, it is not enlarged upon, for the evidence is highly interesting.

We may state briefly that Tane represents the male principle generally, and that Tiki personifies the male organ, which name is also employed as the ordinary term for the organ in sacerdotal recitals, as when the *tiki* of Tane is referred to. Its name in the vernacular of the present time is *ure*. As to evidence supporting this identification

readers are referred to the ritual recited by Tane over Tiki when about to mate with Hine-ahu-one. Also, in an account of the search for the female element, we note the following: "*Ka tu te tiki o Tane ki a Hine-tu-pari-maunga.*" In the volume of *Memoirs* alluded to in the foregoing paragraph, at p. 35, we find, "*Ka tukua ki a Tane-matua kia hikaia a Tiki-ahua ki roto i te puta o Hine-hau-one*"—the latter name being a variant form of Hine-ahu-one. Also at p. 36 we get "*Ko tenei karakia he mea i te aroaro o Hine kia kaha te hiahia mai ki tona hoariri, ki a Tiki-ahua.*" Further evidence appears in the ritual given at pp. 36–37, and in the so-called death of Tiki given at p. 37. Much more evidence is given in the paper alluded to.

Tiki has many secondary names assigned to him in Maori myth, names descriptive of his qualities, functions, &c., of which the following have been collected:—

Tiki-nui. (Signifies size, great Tiki.)
Tiki-roa. (Signifies length.)
Tiki-auaha. (Signifies creation, the creator.)
Tiki-auwaha. (Signifies meddling and fornication.)
Tiki-ahua. (Signifies formation, the former.)
Tiki-i-apoa.
Tiki-matua. (Signifies parentage, the parent.)
Tiki-waiora. (Signifies health, welfare.)
Tiki-hahana. (Signifies glowing.)
Tiki-mumura. (Signifies reddened.)
Tiki-whakaringaringa. (Signifies arm-former.)
Tiki-whakawaewae. (Signifies leg-former.)
Tiki-tohua. (Signifies conception.)
Tiki-torokaha. (Signifies virilty, the virile one.)
Tiki-haohao. (Signifies eagerness.)
Tiki-ahupapa.
Tiki-tawhito-ariki.
Tiki-te-poumua.
Tiki-te-pouroto.
Tiki-whakaeaea.
Tiki-kapakapa.
Tiki-makiki. (Signifies stiffness.)

In an old song occur the following lines:—

E wehi ana te tara o te wahine i te waimua ra
Kei tu ana te tiki, kei tora ana te ure.

The phallus was used in Egypt and elsewhere as the emblem of life, and was connected with the eel in India, as we shall see anon. The old Indian teaching that the only realities are the male and female principles in nature finds a curious echo in Maori beliefs and teachings of former times.

Another application of the word *tiki* in Polynesia and in New Zealand is noted in its being employed to denote an image. In New Zealand it is applied primarily to a cenotaph, but also to grotesquely human figures elsewhere. An uncarved cenotaph was called a *tiki mamore*. In matter collected by Mr. John White the word *tiki* is employed to denote the small figures carved in human form and used as temporary abiding-places for spirit-gods when invoked by the human medium. Similar wooden images used for a like purpose were employed at Tahiti, and were called by the same name (*ti'i* = *tiki*).

The Maori neck-pendant called a *tiki*, usually fashioned from a piece of greenstone (nephrite), occasionally from bone and ivory, is unquestionably connected with Tiki. It is a phallic symbol; it symbolizes the fertilizing-power of the original *tiki*, and hence was worn by women as a fertilizing agent or symbol. The first of such *tiki* is said in Maori myth to have been made for Hine-te-iwaiwa, who is the female being looked upon as the tutelary goddess of childbirth. Its form is very singular, with bowed legs and head awry, which fact is explained by its being fashioned so as to represent the human embryo. These neck-pendants were very highly prized in former times, and were carefully treasured, being handed down from one generation to another.

PART IV.

THE GODS OF THE MAORI.

CONTENTS.

What is a god? It may be anything. The gods of the Maori. Classification of same. Mistakes of armchair anthropologists. No national religion. No regular system of worship.

A. The Supreme Being. Early writers, and what they missed. Names of Io. His status and attributes. The abode of Io. Io known in Polynesia. A beneficent deity. Io and Jehovah. Evidence of early writers. Supreme Beings of uncultured peoples. Cult of Io confined to few. The divine spark in man. Advanced concepts of barbaric man. Belief in Supreme Being no indication of monotheism. Why gods are anthropomorphic. All gods are one. Polynesian Christianity. Why the concept of Jehovah was degraded. Io and Ha.

B. Departmental gods. Their place in the development of religion. Origin of evil. Personifications of natural phenomena. Tane. Fertilizer and demiurge. The Light-bringer. Descent of man from Tane. Disguised sun-worship. Tu. Tu represents war, bloodshed, the setting sun. Rongo a widely known being. Rongo and Sina. The moon-god of agriculture. Tangaroa. Tawhiri-matea. Forbear of the Wind Children. Haumia. Whiro represents darkness and evil. Ruaumoko. Uru.

C. Third-class gods. Intermediate deities. Tribal gods. Misconceptions of early writers. Few gods permanently malevolent. Different status of gods and some personifications. Rainbow gods. Lightning gods. Celestial phenomena invoked as gods.

D. Fourth-class gods. Deified ancestors. Cacodemons. Demoniacal possession. Development of a war-god. Gods as messengers. As guardians. Deified ancestors in superior religions. Familiar spirits. Shamanistic practices. *Atua* as ocean guides. Forms of incarnation of *atua*.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the gods of the Maori it may be well to inquire as to what constitutes a god, inasmuch as this term is employed by many writers in an extremely loose manner. Our dictionaries give two applications of the term, as defining supernatural anthropomorphic beings possessing powers over nature and mankind. One refers to the Supreme Being as conceived in Christianity, the God, and the other to the gods of inferior races. Apart from these definitions, it is also explained that the term is applied to some of the lower animals, to inanimate objects, &c. Webster gives us—(1) a being conceived of as possessing supernatural power, and to be propitiated by sacrifice, worship, &c.; (2) the Supreme Being. Here the first definition would also fit the Supreme Being; and it is not made clear that the common usage is to apply the term "God" to the supernatural being we believe in, and that of "god" or "gods" to those we do not believe in, as the gods of inferior races, and also to tutelary beings and certain personifications.

In the new *Oxford Dictionary* we find many columns devoted to the word, from which we take the following: (1) A superhuman person who is worshipped as having power over nature and the fortunes of mankind; (2) God the Creator and Ruler of the world; (3) any animal, image, or natural object worshipped as the symbol of a deity, or as itself possessing innate powers. Herein it is not recognized that the gods of uncultured races falling into classes (1) and (3) are not, as a rule, worshipped. They are feared and placated, offerings and sacrifices may be made to them, but "worship" is not the word to apply either to the feelings of man towards them, or to the ritual pertaining to them. In (1) and (3) I should feel inclined to insert the word "viewed" in place of "worshipped," in which case the gods of the Maori might be included in those two classes.

Grant Allen has remarked: "A god, as I understand the word, and as the vast mass of mankind has always understood it, is a supernatural being to be revered and

worshipped." Here again are used expressions that properly belong to the gods of the higher races, but in many cases are not applicable to the deities of savage and barbaric folk, or to their attitude towards such beings. These definitions employ terms that are not suitable, and should be restricted to the higher grade of gods of higher races. Those who use them in connection with, say, the gods of the Maori are viewing the matter from the standpoint of civilized man. To revere a being would include at least a modicum of respect, if not of love; and worship should denote a similar feeling; but a Maori could scarcely possess such feelings towards an *atua kahu* (cacodemon), or towards such gods as Tu, Maru, &c.

In his definition of a god Grant Allen goes on to say: "He stands to his votaries, on the whole, . . . in a kindly and protecting relation. He may be angry with them at times, to be sure; but his anger is temporary and paternal alone: his permanent attitude towards his people is one of friendly concern; he is worshipped as a beneficent and generous father." These remarks are applicable to very few of the gods of the Maori; but worship was unknown—it was replaced by conciliation.

The question of what constitutes a god is likely to be confused by the application of the Maori term *atua* to many different beings, things, and conditions. The meanings of this word, as given in *Williams's Maori Dictionary*, include the following: (1) god, demon, supernatural being, ghost, object of superstitious regard, anything malign or disagreeable, strange, extraordinary, &c. It is thus seen that this term *atua* is applied not only to what may fairly be called a god, but also to any creature or object supposed to possess supernatural powers, to anything terrifying or disagreeable. Thus, an epidemic sickness may be alluded to as an *atua*, as also a brutal, terrifying person. Firearms were so termed when first introduced, as also a watch, or compass—anything not understood and that seems to possess some innate supernormal power. The selection of this word by early missionaries whereby to denote the Supreme Being of Christian belief was scarcely a happy choice.

Nicholas tells us that natives of villages visited by him in the north were amazed at the ticking of his watch, and styled it an *atua*, the wearer of the watch being also viewed with a feeling of awe. Again, after having shot a couple of birds, he showed his shot-bag to an old native: "The sight of it terrified him so much that he durst not venture to take a second glance at it, and turned away his head in the greatest trepidation from this magazine of death." At this place the ticking of the traveller's watch was held to be the voice of the *atua*. When some cows were landed from the vessel the natives fled in terror; when Mr. Marsden rode his horse along the beach he was looked upon as something more than mortal. The Rev. T. G. Hammond tells us that, in the Taranaki district, stone landmarks are called *atua*.

Our dictionary-makers have not recognized, apparently, the different conceptions of a deity as evolved by civilized and savage or barbaric man. The use of such words as "revere," "venerate," "worship," &c., in connection with the deities of the lower races is often a mistake. It is well to employ these expressions when describing the cult of a high-class, moral Supreme Being, to whom prayers or supplications are addressed, but all Maori gods, except Io, are on a very different plane. They are placated, conciliated, but they are not adored, nor are prayers such as ours, direct supplications, addressed to them as a rule. A very small proportion of the ritual recitals or chants might be termed invocations; the balance occupy the status of charms, or incantations.

Lubbock made a shrewd remark when he gave us the following passage: "We must always bear in mind that the savage notion of a deity is essentially different from that entertained by higher races. Instead of being supernatural, he is merely a part of nature. This goes far to explain the tendency to deification which at first seems so strange." These remarks are just, but they do not apply to all classes of gods, and it is the differences in native deities that anthropologists neglect. In Greek mythology we find

three classes of supernormal beings: (1) gods; (2) daemons; (3) heroes or demigods. The daemons were supernatural powers of lower rank than the gods, while the heroes were magnified, immortal men. The so-called gods of love, wine, music, &c., may be viewed as personifications. Of all these mentioned we find corresponding classes in Maori myth.

Another fact by no means recognized is that, among the beings to which the generic term of *atua* is applied, are some who should be termed "tutelary beings" rather than "gods," while yet others are looked upon as *matua*, or parents of certain animals and natural productions. Thus, in ritual performances pertaining to the forest, we are told by native adepts that one formula was recited to Tane and another to the gods (*nga atua*), as though Tane was not viewed as an *atua*. This illustrates the concept of Tane as the parent or origin of trees, as also the tutelary being of all forests and forest products. Again, such supernatural beings as the primal offspring, Tane, Tu, &c., are sometimes alluded to as "ancestors." Thus, when Te Whatu, of Tuhoe, was explaining to me some old ritual formulae, he remarked that it pertained to Tu; whereupon I inquired, "Do you mean Tu the *atua?*" He replied, "No; I mean Tu the *tupuna* (ancestor)." Here he meant Tu-matauenga; while Tu the *atua* was the third-class *atua* Tunui-a-te-ika. Perhaps all the so-called gods of the second class pertain more to mythology than religion; they are originating beings, personifications, and tutelary beings. Grant Allen, who seems to believe that the conception of a god began with ancestor-worship—*i.e.*, deification of the dead, or their spirits—yet admits that gods may afterwards have been framed from abstract conceptions, natural objects, or from pure outbursts of the mythopoetic faculty.

We shall also see that we have, in various works on the Maori, applied the term "god" to certain objects that were employed as temporary abiding-places for spirit-gods. This is misleading, for such objects were but a form of inanimate medium of the real *atua*. In Dieffenbach's work on New Zealand we are told that "The gods of the New-Zealanders are emanations of the unknown, and seem to be based upon a former purer belief of monotheism." Setting aside the first part of the passage, which is arguable, I cannot place any faith in these golden-age theories of a former monotheistic faith.

Some consider that all Maori gods were deified ancestors; but the evidence disproves the assumption. Allen claims euhemerism as a primary condition, but conjecture on such remote origins is a vain task. The many personified forms of natural phenomena cannot be viewed as deified ancestors. It is a noteworthy fact that this latter class in Maori theogony occupies only the lower grades of godship, the third and fourth; the second grade, or departmental gods, having quite a different origin.

There is another matter in reference to our gods that calls for some explanation, and that is their attitude towards mankind. This differed considerably in the various classes. The Supreme Being Io does not seem to have played any active part in directing the everyday affairs of man. No offerings or sacrifices were made to him, and the people generally had no direct dealings with him, but only through their priests. This condition however, is one that obtains widely among ourselves at the present time. Many of us are not attendants at any church, and never make use of any form of prayer; we leave such matters to the priestly adepts we never go to hear. As to the departmental gods of the second class, these tutelary deities are not depicted as vindictive beings, and are dangerous or hostile to man only when they have been offended. Thus, if a person pollutes or desecrates the *tapu* of Tane by taking birds in a forest, or felling a tree without some act of placation, he will assuredly suffer for it in some way. Our gods of the third class are much more active in affairs of mankind, but the same remarks hold good as to their punishment of man. In the fourth class we find two different types. Many, such as family gods, are helpful and protective, unless slighted. When this latter condition eventuates, the punish-

ment of the offender appears to have been simply a withdrawal of protective power and of warnings of danger, and not a direct punishment. But in this fourth class we have also the evil spirits, beings permanently and persistently evil and hostile to man, ever seeking to harm him. Such are the *atua kahu*, or spirits of still-born children. There was also a vague, ill-defined belief in spirits of the dead hovering about us in this world, and these were certainly dreaded by all. They were, in native belief, particularly active during the hours of darkness. Again, we have in Whiro, the personified form of evil, a being who is ever striving to destroy man, and who was placated by means of small offerings. Mr. White has said that the spirits of still-born children were the only evil spirits known to the Maori, but it would appear that they also feared others—in fact, all spirits of the dead were feared, even those of friends and relatives; ghosts caused terror among the Maori. These ghosts, spirits of the dead, might manifest their presence anywhere at any time, but night was their favoured time of activity. So that, apart from the occasional punishment or neglect (withdrawal of protection) inflicted by gods of the second and third classes, the Maori ever knew the abiding fear of evil spirits.

We will now endeavour to classify the gods of the Maori in such a manner as to illustrate these remarks:—

Classification of Maori Gods.

A. Io, the Supreme Being.
B. Departmental gods, widely known, as Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, Rongo, &c.
C. Tribal gods, and some others more widely known, as Rongomai, Maru, Uenuku, Tunui, Makawe, &c.
D. Family gods; deified ancestors; cacodemons.

Here we have a fair view of the *atua maori* under discussion. It is impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between classes B and C, or between C and D, for one class impinges upon another to some extent. Io stands alone, and hence may, for the time being, be set aside. Class B is composed of what may be termed departmental deities or tutelary beings. They may possibly be said to be connected more with mythological matters than with religion, as we have already noted. They are viewed in three lights—as originating beings, as controlling-powers, and as personifications. In class C we have beings of less importance than those of class B. Those of class B may be termed racial gods, for they are known throughout Polynesia; but those of class C are more local, though a few are known in Polynesia. Some of them, as Maru and Uenuku, might be called national deities, being widely, in some cases universally, known throughout New Zealand. The term "tribal gods" is used as a distinctive title, but in many cases is not strictly correct. Many are known throughout a district containing perhaps four or five tribes. There is one marked difference between classes B and C that should be explained, and it is connected with the functions of the two classes of beings. The departmental gods though representing certain things, activities, and conditions, do not necessarily possess executive or administrative functions, but for such purposes are replaced by the active beings of the lower classes. Thus we have in Tu the so-called god of war, but he should rather be termed the tutelary genius and personification of war. Although his *mana* and *tapu* were deemed essential in war, to render a force successful, yet as an active director of hostilities he was not utilized, but one of the lower beings was employed. Uenuku was a much-favoured being for this purpose, and some of the most successful and highly valued war-gods were but the spirits of still-born children. So we see that a war-party was placed under the *tapu* of Tu, and certain ritual performances and formulae were in his honour; also, offerings were made to him, as the heart of the first enemy slain; yet an *atua* of lower rank was appealed to in divinatory rites, and controlled the actions of the party through its human medium. After the Maori folk had gained some knowledge of Christianity they on several occasions employed Christ as a war-god—as, for example, in the fight at Toka-a-kuku, in 1836.

In class D we leave the realm of nature gods, who are found in the two preceding classes, and encounter what may be called, for want of a better title, "family" gods, who were often not known outside the tribal limits. The word "family," in speaking of Maori life, means the family group, or extended family, a division of a subtribe (*hapu*). It is in this class that we meet with ancestor-worship, for many of these so-called gods are but ancestral spirits, and also the *atua kahu* already alluded to. These ancestral gods had, as human mediums, their living descendants, who performed all ceremonial functions connected with them, and acted as the priestly mediums of such beings. Thus, if one was employed as a war-god, the human medium (*waka, kauwaka, kaupapa*) would consult such being in regard to the conduct of operations, and explain the commands of the god to the warriors. This meant that the priestly medium accompanied the party to the field of battle, and often had a greater influence in directing operations of actual fighting than the principal chief had. The highest phase or aspect of Maori religion and religious feeling is met with in the cult of Io, and the lowest in shamanistic performances pertaining to beings of class D. The gods employed in the arts of black magic were those of the third and fourth classes. In the latter class a person, male or female, might act as the medium of the spirit of his own father, or grandfather, which spirit would always warn him of the approach of any danger.

It is undoubtedly a fact that dread of *atua* had sometimes a serious effect on the Maori mind. A friend of the writer residing at Wellington received several visits from a native hailing from the Upper Whanganui River. He made a stay of a month or so in town, and my friend remarked to him that he was putting on flesh and looking better generally. The old native explained that the change was due to the fact that, by removing so far from his home, he had escaped the persecutions of the many *atua* of that place, who had worried him exceedingly. So that his removal to a distant place had acted as a *whakahehe* — that is to say, it had baffled the obnoxious demons. Persons suffering from illness were, in some cases, moved to another district with a similar end in view. Mr. White has a note to the effect that dread of the numberless *atua* was the cause of the Maori folk dwelling together in village communities. This is certainly an exaggeration; but the Maori is not so well fitted to lead a lonely life as are Europeans—his vivid imagination is too active.

The Maori, with his superstition, ignorance, and credulity, did not know when he was safe. He never knew in what guise evil spirits might appear to work him harm, for they might assume the form of what we deem the most harmless creatures. I well remember the perturbed state of an old native couple living near one of my bush camps when they saw in the porch of their hut, two evenings in succession, a *ruru* (small forest owl). They came to the conclusion that it had been sent by some warlock to work them grievous injury.

In his little work on *Comparative Religion* F. B. Jevons remarks: "From the spirits of the dead the living may have something to fear; they have little or nothing to hope. It is to the being worshipped by the community that the community turns for aid and the gratification of their desires, &c." A remark such as this, if applied to the Maori, needs explaining and toning down somewhat. Under certain circumstances the Maori assuredly feared the spirits of the dead; under other circumstances he had much to hope from them. By means of a process of conciliation he obtained great benefits from them—or believed that he did, which, presumably, was just as good. We cannot, however, say that he worshipped such spirits, even when they were evolved into what we term "gods." So far as we understand Maori religion and religious thought, it would appear that no element of worship entered into the cult of the spirit-gods; it was a matter of conciliation — in fact, a kind of businesslike arrangement between the conciliator and the spirit of his dead relative.

The Maori can scarcely be said to have had any national religion. Certain superior gods were known to all tribes, but there was no common, generally-known ritual pertaining to these beings; it differed among the various tribes, for the various schools of learning differed somewhat in their teachings. The adepts who had passed through one of these superior schools were consistent in their teachings, and employed the same formulae; but the lower-grade *tohunga*, who indulged in shamanistic performances, were practically a law unto themselves. Thus there was no regular form of service or ceremonial, even as there was no special day set aside for the performance of ritual observances. The only regularly recurring ceremonial was connected with such activities as industries, as at the planting and gathering of crops, the firstfruits function, the opening of the fowling season, &c. Many of what may be called religious functions were connected with irregular occurrences, as birth, death, exhumation, baptism, war, house-building, &c. It is vain to look for any regular system of worship among such folk as the Maori.

Having given some brief account of the different classes or grades of Maori gods, their attitude towards mankind, and the attitude of the Maori towards them, we may now proceed to more closely examine each grade, and so commence with the most important of all, Io the Supreme Being.

A.—Io, the Supreme Being.

The Maori concept of a Supreme Being is one of much interest, and illustrates not only the mentality and psychology of the race, but also the fact that such conceptions, as observed among various races, are evolved in much the same manner the world over. The remarks made by Max Muller as to the connection between a Supreme Being and departmental gods are upheld by a study of Maori religion.

An early missionary, the Rev. James Buller, wrote as follows: "The Maoris had no idea of a Supreme Being, no conception whatever of a god of Goodness. Yet they had 'lords many and gods many.' To their mind those were powerful and malignant spirits 'altogether such as themselves.' Their ancient deities were so mixed up with the spirits of their ancestors that they can hardly be thought of as distinct from each other." Our reverend friend made three mistatements in this brief passage. The Maori had clear ideas of a Supreme Being. The majority of his gods were malignant against him only when offended. Any person who studies the subject can assuredly separate deified ancestors from ancient gods and personifications.

The cult of Io, the Supreme Being of the Maori, was confined to the higher class of *tohunga*, or priestly adepts; those of lower orders were not allowed to acquire knowledge of its formulae or ritual. It is said that the practice of this cult and that of *makutu*, or black magic, by the same person was not permissible in some districts. Those of lower orders, and many of the people, must have known that such a cult existed, but they were not allowed to utilize it in any way or to learn its secrets. It is by no means sure that the ordinary people were allowed to know the name of Io. The higher-class people would know something of the ceremonial and ritual simply because they attended ceremonial performances conducted by the priests of Io, the *tohunga ahurewa*. The common folk were apparently not allowed to attend such functions, and probably never heard any of its ritual chants, though evidence is not quite clear upon this point. Such *karakia* or formulae were only employed in regard to what were deemed to be important matters, such as the birth, sickness, death, or exhumation of a person of importance, the opening of the *tapu* school of learning, &c. Thus, no other person than a graduate of the *whare wananga* could recite the invocations to Io; ordinary folk had no direct interest in the cultus; it was essentially of an aristocratic nature, confined to the few.

No form of temple or sacred edifice of any kind was erected by the Maori in connection with their gods, and the only building in which the excessively *tapu* ritual

pertaining to Io could be recited was the sacred school of learning alluded to. The open was ever preferred when any such function was to be performed.

It is impossible to trace the Maori concept of a Supreme Being back to a dead man; he was no defied ancestor; not is there anything to show that he is a personified nature force; Io looks like an abstract conception. This concept was evolved by the higher minds among the natives, evidently by the comparatively leisured men possessing remarkable powers of abstraction and introspective thought who have left their mark on Maori myth and religion. It was not open to all, and, if it had been, would probably not have been appreciated by the ordinary minds, it being of too exalted a nature for them; they would prefer the lower and more approachable gods, especially those that might be utilized to empower the spells of black magic.

The following account of the various names of Io is one of various versions in which the names differ somewhat. One of his most interesting names, Io-te-waiora (Io the life-giving, or source of life), is not included in this list.

An old native speaks:—

"I will now tell you something about this matter, but I am not in the habit of relating what I have heard to people. The mentioning of Io and the denizens of the heavens and their realms is a *tapu* matter. It is also a *tapu* matter to recite the names and deeds of the offspring of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother—exceedingly so. It is the office of the priests of the sacred places *tuahu* and *ahurewa* to recite such matters, for they are *tapu* persons. It was only after the introduction of Christianity that common persons, such as Rihari Tohi and I, were allowed to speak of such matters. On account of it being *tapu*, such matter could only be discussed within the *whare wananga* (school of learning). When people lost their condition of *tapu* they entered the food-houses of white men, hence were lost the powers of the *whare wananga* of our elders consigned to the spirit-world.

"Now, here are the names of Io which I heard of; but do not imagine that I reject or pervert the teachings of your elder, Te Matorohanga, for he was the most famous youth that passed through those houses of occult lore. He was an extremely *tapu* person, and was always fed with a stick used as a fork by his sister Hine-te-aparangi, she who perished at Kaupeka-hinga at the hands of the hostile party of Kaiwaru of the Toroiwaho and Parakiore clans. But enough of that subject:—

The Names of Io and their Signification.

Io. He is the core of all gods; none excel him.

Io-nui. He is greater than all other gods.

Io-roa. His life is everlasting; he knows not death.

Io-matua. He is the *matua* (parent) of the heavens and of their different realms, of the worlds, of clouds, of insects, of birds, of rats, of fish, of moons, of stars, of lightning, of winds, of waters, of trees, of all plant-life of land, sea, and streams, as also of all other things. There is no single thing that does not come under the control of Io-matua; he is the parent of all things —of man, and of the lesser gods under him; he is truly the parent of all.

Io-matua-te-kore (Io the Parentless). This name of his denotes that he has no parents, no mother, no elder or younger brothers, or sisters; he is nothing but himself.

Io-taketake. This name of his denotes the permanence of himself and all his acts, his thoughts, and his governments; all are enduring, all are firm, all are complete, all are immovable.

Io-te-pukenga. He is the source of all thought, reflection, memories, of all things planned by him to possess form, growth, life, thought, strength; there is nothing outside his jurisdiction; all things are his, and with him alone rests the matter of possession or non-possession.

Io-te-wananga. That is to say, he is assuredly the source of all knowledge, whether pertaining to life, or to death, or to evil, or to good, or to dissensions or lack of such, or to peace-making, or to failure to make peace; nought is there outside his influence.

Io-te-toi-o-nga-rangi (Io the Crown of the Heavens). This name shows that he is the god of the uppermost of all the heavens; there is no heaven beyond that one which is known as the Toi-o-nga-rangi. That is the first of the heavens, from which descent is made to the eleven heavens below the Toi-o-nga-rangi (or uppermost of the heavens).

Io-matanui (Large or Many-eyed Io). This name denotes that no place is hidden from his eyes and his thoughts, whether in the heavens or the various realms, the worlds, the waters, or the depths of the beds of the rivers, or the clouds; all things are gathered together in his eyes.

Io-matangaro (Hidden-faced Io, or Io of the Unseen Face). This name denotes that he is unseen by all things in the heavens, in the world, and various divisions of the heavens, or worlds. No matter what it be, he is not seen, but only when he intends to be seen can he be seen by any being. He is unseen by all beings of the heavens, of the divisions of the worlds, of the waters, of the clouds, of vegetation, insects, supernatural beings, the denizens of the heavens; only when he wills that they shall see him can they do so.

Io-mataaho. His appearance as he moves abroad is as that of radiant light only; he is not clearly seen by any being of the heavens, of the worlds, or divisions thereof.

Io-te-whiwhia. This name denotes that nothing can possess anything of its own volition; by his intention only can it possess aught, or not so possess, no matter who or what it be —persons or supernatural beings, or realm, or heavens, or divisions of such, or moons, or suns, or stars, or waters, or winds, or rains.

Io-urutapu. He is more *tapu* than all other gods, than all other things of the heavens, of the realms or divisions of space, of the sun, of the moon, of the stars, of waters and depths.

"Such is the aspect of his names according to the teachings of men of the school of learning." (See Addenda VII.)

Another list of the names of Io may be consulted in *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*, at p. 110, and yet another in *Man* for July, 1913, p. 100.

It is of much interest to note that Io is said to have existed for all time. We have seen how he brought the universe into existence from chaos. He was never born, hence his name of Io-matua-te-kore (Io the Parentless), even as he shall know not death. He took no wife and had no offspring, yet through him all things came into being. As old Tutakangahau, of Tuhoe, once said to the writer, "He caused all gods to appear; he was the beginning of the gods" ("*Nana i whakaputa i nga atua katoa; koia te timatanga o nga atua*").

This reminds us of the old Egyptian concept of the Supreme Being: "He is the god who has existed of old; there is no god without him. A mother hath not borne him, nor a father begotten him. God-goddess created from himself, all the gods have existed as soon as he began." Concerning which Mahaffy remarks: "He created himself before all things, and the arrival of the gods was only a diffusion, a manifestation of his different faculties and of his all-powerful will."

No images of this important being were ever made, nor had he any *aria* (form of incarnation), as many of the lesser gods have. No sacrifices or offerings of any nature were made to Io. No punishment seems to have been inflicted by him. This peculiarly advanced concept of a Supreme Being, this lack of gross practices, can only have been possible in a barbaric community by confining the cult to the higher minds of the community, and allowing the people to continue dealing with the lower grades of gods. It seems certain that, had the cult of Io been made known to the people, it would have become degraded, and permeated with lower ideals and practices. It could not have retained the high level at which it was held as an aristocratic cultus.

This peculiar condition, illustrated by the co-existence of polytheism and a singularly refined and abstract concept of a Supreme Being, among a communal folk is a very remarkable thing. It reminds us of a condition that existed in far off Babylonia at one time, when the priests were monotheistic and the people polytheistic.

Some very interesting remarks on Io as the Great Originator may be found in vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 108. In these remarks Colonel Gudgeon dwells on the abstract conception of Io, and the lack of insight shown by Shortland and Thomson in their statements regarding the Maori and his religion. At p. 109 of the same *Journal*, vol. 16, appears a list of six names of Io that were collected in the northern part of the Island. These are Io-mua, Io-moa, Io-hunga, Io-uru, Io-hawai, and Io-hana. Two other names collected on the east coast are Io-matakaka and Io-tikitiki-o-rangi. Another and an interesting title is that of Io-matawai, defining him as a loving or compassionate god.

Maori belief shows us that Io dwells in the uppermost of the twelve heavens, known as Tikitiki-o-rangi and the Toi-o-nga-rangi, both of which names signify "summit of the heavens." His place of abode is called Matangireia. The two parties of denizens of that realm, the twelve male *whatukura* and twelve females known as the *mareikura*, act as attendants, apparently, the male beings being employed as messengers, as we have seen in the case of Ruatau and Rehua. The female denizens are said to welcome the spirits of the dead when they enter the twelfth heaven. These beings of the uppermost heaven are free to visit any other realm they choose—the eleven lower heavens, the earth, the underworld, or the heavenly bodies. The denizens of the eleven lower heavens, however, can visit the uppermost region only by permission of Io.

The male and female denizens of the uppermost heaven, known as *whatukura* and *mareikura*, dwell at a place called Te Rauroha, while at Rangiatea was preserved all occult knowledge pertaining to all subjects, all the different heavens, realms, and worlds. There is an old half-forgotten myth concerning the existence at this place of a peculiar stone tablet or some such form, by gazing at which Io could see what was going on in all other realms.

It may be thought that this concept of a Supreme Being is but a result of Christian teachings, but on close examination this idea must be abandoned. In the first place, a considerable amount of the ritual pertaining to this cult has been preserved, ritual formulae and invocations to Io, much more than appears in vol. 3 of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*. Some of these have been obtained by the writer, while others are preserved in manuscript books in the possession of natives, which will probably never all be permanently recorded. All this matter is couched in exceedingly archaic language, and it is impossible to believe that it has all been composed during late years. Also, all the matter pertaining to Io published in the volume mentioned can scarcely have been recently "invented." Had this concept been based on Christian teachings, then it would undoubtedly show the influence of such teachings, which it assuredly does not. There would have been some analogies or some rendering of the old Scriptural myths. Nor is there any resemblance between the Io of Maori myth and the somewhat truculent Jehovah of the Old Testament. Unless all members of a community are of a high mental status, monotheism must tend to degrade the concept of a Supreme Being, for inferior minds will assuredly introduce into such a cult the lower ideals, conceptions, and practices demanded by their mentality. The Maori avoided this in the manner already explained.

In his *Life and Times of Patuone*, published in 1876, C. O. Davis writes: "I have been informed by natives well acquainted with the ancient mode of worship among their people that the oldest Maori prayers were those addressed to the sacred Io. The following lines from a primitive recitation refer to this great deity:—

Nekea, e Whakatau, ki runga o Hawaiki
Whakaturia to whare, me ko te maru a Io
Nga Tokorua a Taingahue i maka ki runga
Hei tohu mo te rangi era.

This is rendered by Davis—"Move on, O Whakatau, move to Hawaiki. Establish there thy house, as though it were the protecting care of Io. The two of Taingahue were placed above as signals in the heavens." The "two of Taingahue" are the sun and moon.

Later on Mr. Nelson collected a little further information from Ngati-Whatua, Auckland district. Mr. J. White gathered a few further notes, given in vol. 2 of his *Ancient History of the Maori*. About 1900 I got a few brief remarks concerning Io from Tutakangahau, of Tuhoe, but the old man refused to return to the subject. He evidently regretted having spoken, though we were excellent friends. Thus the conservative Maori clung to his Supreme Being, and declined to discuss him. Moreover, Io was known

at Tahiti and Rarotonga, which disposes of the idea of a modern local invention. Collusion is out of the question.

A considerable amount of this Io ritual was known to several old men at Whanganui as late as 1913, though some have since died. Te Riaki, of Karioi, was a repository of much of the old *whare-wananga* lore. In the above year the sacred *whatu*, or stones, belonging to the old-time *whare wananga* of Maunga-wharau were still carefully preserved at Whanganui, as I myself saw. They appeared to me to be waterworn pebbles of carnelian, or some similar stone, flattened and oval or rounded in form, about an inch or somewhat more in length.

In vol. 19 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* appears a translation of the Rarotongan version of the tradition of Rata. It contains the following statement made by a native: "I may say the god Io was an *atua mekameka* (beneficent deity), and the ancient priests, my ancestors, always ended up the special *karakia* (ritual) with this chant: *Io, Io, te atua nui ki te rangi tuatinitini* (Io, the great god of the vast heavens)." Apparently *tuatinitini* denotes size in the Rarotongan dialect, but in New Zealand Maori it conveys a sense of numbers, so that the above expression would be rendered as "many heavens," though, as in this case it is preceded by the definite article singular, we may put it as "the many-divisioned heaven," a phrase practically equivalent to the local one of *nga rangi tu haha.*

But *io* also seems to be employed at Rarotonga as a kind of generic term for gods, as shown in the Rev. W. Gill's *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*: "Motoro was proudly called *te io ora*, or the living god, because he alone of the gods of day would not permit his worshippers to be offered in sacrifice. The other divinities were called *io mate*, or dead gods, as their worshippers were ever eligible for the alter of dread Rongo, who lived in the shades. The word *io*, commonly used for 'god,' properly means 'pith or core of a tree.'" It is not quite clear that *io mate* should be rendered as "dead gods"; presumably it would mean "gods pertaining to death," or something of that nature. Again, the author states that natives applied the term *io ora* to Jehovah because his worshippers never die. This is scarcely probable; more likely that it was because the god himself was supposed to be immortal, or connected with life and welfare. This word *io* is the Maori *iho* (the Rarotonga dialect drops *h*), which stands for core, pith, kernel, the centre of a tree, &c. In the Paumotu Group of eastern Polynesia we find *iho* = a spirit, and *ihoiho* = ancestral spirits.

Some few years ago a native of Tahiti informed the writer that Io was known in the Society Group, and that his full name was Io-i-te vahinaro (Io at the hidden place), while one of his titles in New Zealand was Io-matangaro, or Io of the hidden face, meaning that he could not be looked upon by human eyes (see *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 26, p. 114).

The welfare of all things in all realms emanates from and depends upon Io. The life-principle and welfare of everything emanates from him. The whole system of practices, as well as the archaic ritual, seems to bear the impress of antiquity, and it seems highly improbable that such a cultus was ever evolved in any of the small isles of Polynesia. If such is the case, then it must have been brought from the homeland of the race, wherever that may be. In vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 95, appears an extract from Renan's *History of the People of Israel*, as follows: "It is very possible that the long history of religion which, starting from the nomad's tent, has resulted in Christianity or Islamism, derives from primitive Assryia, or Accadian Assyria, as it is called, another element of capital importance—that is, the name of Iahoue or Iahveh." After discussing the origin and its variations, he goes on to say: "The holy name became contracted into Iahou or Io."

The Io of Grecian mythology was the personified form of the moon, but was changed into a cow. She is the same as Isis of Egyptian myth. The *Manual of Mythology*

tells us that Ioh was an early Egyptian moon-god; but this Io is equivalent to Hina and Sina, the personified form of the moon in Polynesia and New Zealand, and not to Io the supreme god.

The Maori concept of Io bears a strong resemblance to that of Jahweh among the Semites with regard to the lack of any definite ideas of the Supreme Being. No images of that being were made, and the great being is surrounded by mystery, vagueness, and intense *tapu*. There was great reluctance to the mentioning of his name among both peoples, hence the use of descriptive names by the Semites, or substitutes for the real name. The easy familiarity with which we employ and pronounce the name of God would have been shocking—indeed, impossible—to Maori and Semite alike. When, moreover, the Maori heard us English folk employing the name of our Supreme Being in cursing our fellow creatures, including himself, his feelings were those of amazement and contempt. The conception of intense sacredness held by such barbaric folk is unknown among civilized peoples.

Grant Allen draws attention to the fact that the Israelites offered up or dedicated every male child to the national god, and adds: "Such universal dedication of the whole males of the race to the national god must have done much to ensure his ultimate triumph." He also says that, in earlier times, probably only the first-born male was so dedicated, and this resembles the Maori custom. Here the male children of superior families only, and possibly only the first-born males thereof, were dedicated to Io, the same being a most interesting rite, as we shall see anon.

In one light only is Io viewed as resembling human beings, and that pertains to the days of the gods, as when Tane ascended to the realm of Io in order to obtain from him the three baskets or repositories of *tapu* esoteric knowledge. In the account of the interview between Io and Tane we note that the god of gods is endowed with power of speech. But such manifestations ceased in the days of the gods. Tane himself was a supernatural being. Since that period all communication has been cut off, apparently, between this world and Io. No mortal being has ever looked upon him, hence he is more aloof from man than Jehovah, who came to earth and conversed with Moses, or at least, so we are told. So that we see these mythical conversations confined to the gods by the Maori, whereas we have borrowed the Semitic version, which includes man's interviews with the Almighty. This is anthropomorphism with a vengeance! Some of these matters as conserved in the Old Testament verge perilously close to puerility.

Mr. J. White has stated that the underworld of Maori belief was the abode of the spirits which, "for rebellion against Io or A, were hurled from the region of Rangi, never to return." (See *Report of the Third Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1891, p. 361.) This statement is assuredly an error; Maori teachings say nothing about this hurling process, or about any rebellion against Io; moreover, the common belief is that all spirits of the dead go to the underworld.

Missionary Taylor, Dr. Thomson, and W. Colenso, three famed writers on the subject of the Maori, tell us that he had no conception of a Supreme Being. The Rev. T. G. Hammond remarks as follows: "My experience . . . inclines me strongly to the opinion that the Maori in his remotest past started in the race of existence with some knowledge of one Supreme God, and has allowed successive environments to make that knowledge tyranny rather than freedom, death rather than life." This writer apparently does not consider the fact that the bulk of the people were quite ignorant of the cult of Io; that it was retained by the few, and that the Maori, as a people, were not sufficiently advanced to dispense with polytheism. The expression "remotest past," again, in connection with the Maori's belief in a Supreme Being, is likewise questionable.

We may rest assured that early visitors to New Zealand formed some peculiar views of Maori religion, both on account of their ignorance of the native tongue and because of the reticence of the few who might have given information concerning the higher

aspects of such matters. Thus, Nicholas remarks "The New-Zealanders, as far as we could discover from Duaterra, have some confused ideas of a Supreme Being; but their superstitions are in general most absurd and extravagant. Besides a Supreme Power, of which, as I have said, they have some notion, they likewise believe in a great number of inferior gods, to each of whom they have given distinct powers and peculiar functions. One of them they have placed over the elements, another over the fowls of the air and the fishes of the sea; and there are an infinite number of others. . . . The first of these is called Mowhe-rangaranga (Maui-rangaranga), the Supreme Deity, with whose dignity and attributes they are totally unacquainted, though, from some internal suggestion, they have placed him at the head of the list."

Here Nicholas has mistaken for a Supreme Being one who was not even an inferior god; he mistook Maui, the hero of many native myths, for the most important of Maori deities. He accepted fireside myths and folk-lore tales as evidence of the native religion. He did, however, grasp the idea of the departmental gods.

Cruise remarks that "They believe in a Supreme Being designated the Atua, or something incomprehensible; the author of good and evil; the divinity who protects them in health or destroys them by disease."

In discussing Maori religion Polack remarks of the natives that "they worship no representation of the Great Spirit, who is believed to be implacable, and the origin of every evil." This is a most misleading statement. In the first place, no European of Polack's time had any knowledge of the Maori concept of a Supreme Being. It will also be seen that "implacable" and "origin of every evil" are expressions that cannot be applied to that being.

Colenso wrote of the Maori, "They knew not of any Being who could properly be called God." The Rev. R. Taylor stated that "Properly speaking, the natives had no knowledge of a Supreme Being." The Rev. W W. Gill tells us that the sublime conception of a Supreme Being is unattainable by a heathen sage. We cannot now allow any of these statements to pass unchallenged.

In his account of the religion and myths of the Hawaiians, or Sandwich-Islanders, Fornander remarks: "I learn that the ancient Hawaiians at one time believed in and worshipped one God, comprising three beings, and respectively called Kane, Ku, and Lono (Tane, Tu, and Rongo in Maori), equal in nature, but distinct in attributes; the first, however, being considered as the superior of the other two, *a primus inter pares;* that they formed a triad commonly referred to as Ku-kauahi (lit. 'Ku stands alone,' or 'The one established'), and were worshipped jointly under the grand and mysterious name of Hika-po-loa." We will learn more concerning this trio when we come to consider the departmental gods of the Maori, and we shall see that this tendency to combine gods, or attribute many names to one being, is also observable in New Zealand.

"We know," says J. E. Carpenter, "that both India and Greece reached the conception of a unity of energy in diversity of operation; "the One with many names" was the theme of Hindu seers long before Aeschylus in almost identical words proclaimed "One form with many names."

In his account of the Samoan story of creation Dr. Fraser remarks: "The Polynesian cosmogony has also the idea of the unity of god, for the gods are all Tangaloa."

F. A. Campbell, in his *A Year in the New Hebrides*, writes: "The principal deity of Aneityum was Nugerain. He had a name above every name. Like God's great name Jehovah, which the Jews refuse to utter, no one dare use his name unless he belonged to the highest cast."

In a paper on the natives of southern Nigeria written by Mr. Talbot some years ago is described the "discovery" of a belief in a Supreme Being in that region. Knowledge of this cult had been successfully concealed from Europeans for many years, and was only detected by chance. This is just what occurred in New Zealand.

We have lately had an interesting interview with a missionary from Central Africa, who has certainly studied the religious beliefs of the natives of his district with great care, bringing to bear on the matter a mind remarkable for its liberality and the faculty of critical examination. He stated that the natives believed in a Supreme Being from whom no evil emanated, but who existed outside the hanging sky and did not interfere with ordinary mundane affairs, and also in the existence of many ancestral spirits. These latter are placated by the natives; these are the beings with whom the people are in contact, not the mighty and distant Supreme Being.

All this closely resembles Maori belief and practice, and is of much interest. We are glad to say that we are indebted to a missionary for it, and were astonished to hear him say that he thought that the native name for the Supreme Being should have been adopted by the missionary party.

We are told in many works that, among peoples of inferior culture, moral deities, or gods from whom no evil emanates, who are in no way malignant, are not generally worshipped, but are somewhat neglected. Now, in Maoriland the mild-natured Io was not generally known to the people, but the ritual pertaining to him was the only evidence of anything like true worship to be met with in these isles. All ceremonial performances in connection with the lower gods were placatory, and nearly all the ritual formulae can but be described as incantations or charms. Fear has entered into all religious systems, but the fear of his lower gods experienced by the Maori was a very different feeling from the awe with which he viewed Io. The fact that he possessed gods of several grades enabled the Maori to preserve the refined aspect of the cult of Io. The grosser minds of the community confined themselves to ower gods. In monotheism the danger is ever present that the lone god may be endowed with malignant qualities, with accretions of human passions or weaknesses, as is so very evident in the Old Testament. In Christian teachings children are told that they must fear and love God, though how a hapless child can cultivate both these feelings towards the Almighty is by no means clear. For a child to fear the Jehovah of the Old Testament is by no means difficult, but as to love—the less said the better.

Had the Maori not possessed inferior gods to whom ordinary folk might appeal—that is to say, gods suited to the mentality of the majority of the people—and had Io been the one and only god of the people, then assuredly his status would have been much lowered, and gross superstitions would have crept into his cultus. The aloofness from man of Io is much more marked than that of Jehovah. It would have been impossible for the Maori to conceive any situation in which Io would communicate directly with man. Only supernormal or supernatural beings might communicate with him. Even in the case of Tane, supernatural offspring of the primal parents, he had to undergo two different ceremonial functions ere he could enter the presence of Io. The *pure* rite was performed over him at the Wai-o-Rongomai in the eleventh heaven, and again in the twelfth or uppermost heaven, at Te Rauroha, the realm of Io.

In the case of Jehovah we note a less refined aspect, inasmuch as he sometimes condescended to communicate directly with man, and also to take part in his affairs, such as assisting in wars, not to speak of his issuing cruel commands, apparently prompted by human passions. Unquestionably the people whose customs are depicted in the Old Testament were unfit to practise a monotheistic religion.

The Maori tells us that Io cannot be seen, hence his name of Io-matangaro (Hidden-faced Io). His name of Io-mataaho denotes that his radiance alone can be seen. None can see the form that emits such radiance; no eye can see Io. Observe the words of Philo: "God is invisible, for how can eyes that are too weak to gaze upon the sun be strong enough to gaze upon its maker."

As we have seen, the Maori held that man has inherited a spark of the divine, or supernatural—that man is partially a god. We also read that a certain Semitic folk

discovered the divine in man, and that the result was Christianity and a great turning-point in the history of the world. Probably the ancestors of the Maori evolved this concept fully as early as did the Semites, but they never advanced to monotheism.

To some extent the Maori folk of past centuries must have been given to philosophical speculation, to produce the men who thought out the wondrous system of personifications, the concept of a Supreme Being, the racial mythology, anthropogeny, and religion. The singular animistic belief that credited inanimate objects with the possession of a life-principle appears marvellous to us, but was probably a natural sequence of their tracing the origin of all things to the primal parents, Sky and Earth. And yet we know the Maori to have been a confirmed cannibal and ruthless enemy, who consumed human flesh as jauntily as we eat a cabbage, who even indulged in the dreadful *kai pirau*, the eating of decomposed human bodies. All of which teaches us that a barbarous people may indulge in acts of low savagery and yet be by no means primitive; that bestial actions may co-exist with high mental powers. The folk who thought out the concept of Io and composed the ritual chants pertaining to him, who developed the ideas of the *awe* of a *wairua*, or refined essence of a spirit, and of a universal soul in all nature, were assuredly not primitive; they must have possessed many intellectual minds highly capable of thinking in the abstract.

Such, then, was the old Maori concept of a Supreme being—an uncreated, undying deity who brought the universe into being; a god who was never born, who had no parents, no offspring, who was evidently not the ghost of a dead man, or a development of such a spirit. He was a creator and creative, though aloof from all other beings. A cosmogonic chant quoted recognizes and indeed describes Io as the origin of the universe. It was no case of land simply appearing above the waters, a belief noted among certain low races. The conception of such a being could scarcely have been due to fear, a cause that would have produced a deity of different attributes.

Although we must recognize the aloofness of Io in comparison with Jehovah, yet the priests of old who intoned their many ritual chants to him in connection with what were deemed matters of grave import must have believed that he would heed their supplications, otherwise they would not have adopted or continued such a practice. The offering or dedication of children to Io was done in the belief that he would protect the life-principle of the child, its *tapu* and *mana*, for such life-principle means much more to the Maori than it does to us. It has a spiritual and intellectual aspect as well as the physical. The various ritual chants to Io were employed because it was believed that he both heard and heeded them, although he never descended to earth, or had any direct intercourse with men. The lack of offerings to him seems to show that at least ordinary means of placation were unnecessary; indeed, he is not shown to be vindictive or revengeful, nor is it said that he punished men in any way. Punishment, as for disregard of *tapu* for example, always seems to come from the lower gods. The lack of images or anything representing Io was probably the result of his very high status and intense *tapu*.

These data show us the very interesting stage of development occupied by Maori religion, especially their singular concept of a Supreme Being. Max Muller's viewpoint was that the first stage of development from polytheism is that represented by departmental gods, and that these afterwards become subordinate to a Supreme Being. The Maori religion had advanced to the latter stage, but this advanced form was still in the hands of the few; the people as a whole were not admitted to the higher cultus, and we may safely say that they were not ready for it. In his *Lectures on Anthropological Religion* Muller shows us that the higher concept of monotheism was reached by some of the Vedic poets in India. He also shows how different classes of the same society may represent different levels of religious thought, and that these stages in the development of religion are historical realities.

This mingling of different planes of religious thought is referred to as follows by E. O. James in his *Primitive Ritual and Belief:* "Among nearly all races, even where the worship of ancestors and deified human beings exists, there is also a belief in high gods who have never been men and have never died. In process of time mythology has tended to overgrow and choke the original conception of a Creator who dwells in the sky, remote and in need of nothing that man can give." This latter remark might lead one to suppose that the cult of Io would in time have become obscure, or possibly have died out; but speculation on this subject is idle. Professor Jevons has made the apt remark that "the belief in these high gods, where it occurs, does not in the least indicate that the savages who hold it are monotheists, and this we have ample proof of.

Carpenter, in his *Comparative Religion*, remarks: "The 'High Gods of Low Races' often seem to fade away and become inactive, or at least are out of relations to man. Olorun, lord of the sky among the African Egbas . . . was too remote and exalted to be the object of human worship. . . . Altjira . . . is no object of worship . . . he never punishes man, therefore the blacks do not fear him, and render him neither prayer nor sacrifice." It seems quite probable that it is no case of waning power of the high God, but, as in the case of the Maori, that of a restricted cult, an aristocratic cultus, one confined to the few.

Grant Allen has made a remark pregnant with meaning: "The fact is, so abstract a conception as the highest theological conception of God cannot be realized except symbolically, and then for a few moments only, in complete isolation. The moment God is definitely thought of in connection with any cosmic activity, still more in connection with any human need, he is inevitably thought of on human analogies, and more or less completely anthropomorphized in the brain of the believer." Herein we see the cause of the degradation of the concept of a Supreme Being, and the only way in which such degradation can be avoided is by retaining the superior cult among the few superior minds. If Io had been known to the mass of the Maori people they would probably have neglected him because the concept was too highly pitched for them. In that case the expression "waning power" might have been applicable.

In Clodd's work on *Animism* we read: "The Hindu supreme god Parameshwar is responsible for the existence of everybody and everything, but is too exalted to be troubled about everyday affairs. On the other hand, the tutelary godlings should be appealed to for help in worldly concerns, and the demons must be propitiated to prevent things going wrong." This aspect would doubtless have been observed among the Maori folk had the bulk of the people been acquainted with the cult of Io.

Professor Tylor tells us in his *Primitive Culture* that where speculative philosophy, savage or cultured, has persistently sought a solution, it was attained by ascending from the many to the one, by striving to discern through and beyond the universe a First Cause: "Let the basis of such reasoning be laid in theological ground, then the First Cause is realized as the Supreme Deity." He also shows that the concept of such a Supreme Being as Io, looming vast, shadowy, and calm over the material world, not closely concerned with man, but standing aloof "is a mystic form or formlessness in which savage and barbaric tribes have not seldom pictured the Supreme." This writer upholds the development theory as against that of degeneration, and maintains that it accounts for the belief in a Supreme Being as a product of natural religion, as a concept evolved by folk of inferior culture without the aid of a more advanced culture.

As to the retention of the cult of Io by a single class of the community, this may seem impossible to us. With us there would naturally be books containing particulars concerning such a cultus, its tenets and ritual, and these would sooner or later become accessible to the many, or at least their contents would become known. But in the case of a people possessing no form of script the matter would assume a very different aspect, and such knowledge might be withheld by a small class.

We may fairly assume that the concept of Io was never evolved in the isles of the Pacific, wherein the Maori race has ever been broken up into small communities dwelling in far-sundered isles. It must have been evolved in some far land wherein the ancestors of all these Polynesian folk dwelt together as a racial or national unit. As to where that land was situated no man may say, nor is it a part of our task to discuss the matter here, though this paper contains many items showing close resemblances to beliefs and practices of southern and south-eastern Asia. Winwood Reade has endeavoured to show that monotheism could scarcely have been evolved by a people dwelling amid varied natural surroundings, forests, mountains, valleys, and plains. He held that the denizen of the desert, the dweller in bare, featureless wastes, was responsible for such a concept—he who saw naught save the harsh, sterile earth below and the heavens above, where neither tree, hill, nor stream broke the drear monotony. Hence it was, he maintains, that the folk of the Arabian desert, in past times, grasped the idea of a single God. Prior to that time they had practised stone-worship and star-worship to a considerable extent, for there was little else save the bare earth to meet the eye. This writer dwells on the grosser aspect of the concept of Jehovah in Mosaic times, and shows how the cult gradually became more refined. He also illustrates the narrowness of the Jewish mind in a striking manner: "The Jews held the doctrine that none but Jews could be saved; and most of them looked forward to the eternal torture of Greek and Romans souls with equanimity, if not with satisfaction." This attitude is by no means a thing of the past, and can still be detected in Christianity.

The punishment of spirits of the dead in the spirit-world so vividly described in the Christian Bible, and which myth was exploited to such an abominable extent by Christian priests, was a new revelation to such a folk as the Maori. It had a perturbing effect, and its truth was often indignantly denied.

Professor Jevons, in his little work on *Comparative Religion*, tells us that the high gods of lower races are not worshipped; but this remark does not apply to the Supreme Being of Maori belief. The ritual pertaining to Io was the nearest approach to true worship that is met with in Maori religion, although that ritual was certainly not known to the many.

The above-mentioned writer remarks that the belief of a people in a single nameless spiritual being may go back as far as we can trace or surmise their religious evolution. But he also shows that, if a single deity is endowed with several names, it may come to pass that, as time rolls on, a belief may arise that each name represents a different being. The former remark brings us to the concept of "all gods are one." This aspect is noted in certain Old World religions, notably in that of Egypt, where secondary gods and such manifestations as trinities can be traced back to one being. This tendency is also observed in accounts of Babylonia, and Indian teachings explained that all gods of the Veda are but names of one Supreme Being. In connection with this phase of religious development, a remark made by an old Maori to a friend of the writer is of deep interest, as showing possibly a belief of the old-time Maori priests of the first rank. Certain remarks made by the native led my friend to say, "You seem to imply that all gods are one." Whereupon the old man replied, "Yes, all gods are one, but the people must not be told so."

However old the concept of a Supreme Being may be, it is quite clear that such a belief has not necessarily led to monotheism. It may be a step on the way, but a step on which a people may remain for a very long period. There are also many side paths and many excrescences that serve as a brake on progress. We know that Christianity conquered paganism in certain regions, but was itself corrupted by what it displaced. We know that the same cult borrowed the Egyptian concept of the Trinity, and other beliefs. Thus does one religion influence another, for good or evil.

Polytheism dies hard; even in our twentieth-century Christianity it still survives, more especially in the Roman Catholic Church, which has its minor deities, termed saints, apparently by the thousand. In this Church also flourish such superstitions as we find among savages, and the mind marvels at this retention of, and belief in, gross and puerile things. Mohammedanism is perhaps more truly monotheistic than Christianity, but local saints are a constant feature of that religion. True monotheism apparently does not exist.

It gradually becomes clear to the inquirer that, in cases where man is confined to the worship of one God, he brings about the degeneracy of highly pitched concepts pertaining to that deity. This is what happened in the case of Jehovah, who was practically reduced to the level of a tribal war-god, a being that assisted in massacres and other objectionable practices. Now, the Maori kept his Supreme Being free from all such influences by utilizing inferior gods for such purposes. The fact that the Christian invokes the aid of his God in war, that he requests his assistance in slaying men, as opposed to the fact that the Maori would never have thought of so appealing to Io, bears a curious significance, and is of much interest. The Maori idea was that war and man-slaying are evil things, and that nothing evil may be connected with Io, or that Io would have nothing to do with evil, hence it was of no use to appeal to him in such matters, which must be referred to lesser gods. In this aspect the Maori concept of the Supreme Being would appear to be higher and more refined than that of the Christian. It may be emphasized that the Maori would never so much as dream of utilizing Io, the Supreme Being, as a war-god—that is to say, of invoking his aid in battle—but he had no such compunction in regard to the Christian God, whose aid was often invoked (as it is by us) by the Maori in his fighting after the introduction of Christianity. In Hori Ngatai's account of the assault on the Gate Pa, on the 29th April, 1864, where the British troops were repulsed with considerable loss, he says that the Maori garrison had two priests, one Christian and the other heathen, to conduct matters. The one appealed to the Christian God to give them victory, the other turned to the old Maori gods for assistance. Everything, says Hori, was done in a correct manner, so that we might have all the gods on our side. But, during the shelling of the fort, just as the Christian priest was uttering the words "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of . . . " a big-gun shell struck him, and that priest had to be collected in a basket.

The weakness of the Maori concept of a Supreme Being lies in the fact that Io was too far removed from the people in his aloofness, for man seems to crave somewhat close relations with such a Being, not only in this world, but also in the next. Io was certainly invoked in regard to important matters, but only by a single class of the priesthood, not by the people as a whole. A belief existed that, though man was not descended from Io, yet a portion of the *ira atua* abides in man, because the *wairua* or soul of the first woman was derived from Io; but this belief also was confined to the few—it was not taught to all the people. As to any communion with the Supreme Being after death—that is, in the spirit-world—here again the conservative practices of the priesthood were in evidence, as we shall see anon. Nothing was taught, or apparently believed, by the priesthood in the way of any sojourn with the lower gods in spirit-land. Possibly the belief that some of the spirits of the dead ascended to the realm of Io and there abode was a first step towards bridging the gulf between the Supreme Being and man.

The concept of God with many of us Old World folk is assuredly a narrow one. Many believe that God was a special disclosure to the Jews—to them only—a people who were perhaps the most self-opinionated, narrow-minded, and objectionable of all Semitic barbarians. Who shall say that other peoples have not grasped equally as well the concept of a creative God, a being who brought the universe into existence, who was the origin of all things? And even the rude Maori never degraded his Supreme Being to the level of a tribal war-god of truculent activities, as did the Semites of old.

The Maori believed in a Supreme Being, a creator and primal origin called Io. We believe in one we call God. We say that Io is a false god. Why? There cannot be two Supreme Beings. Do we quarrel over a mere name?

Christian priesthoods have murdered, with fiendish tortures, many thousands of persons for worshipping our God in a slightly different manner to that of the ruling priesthood. Has the Maori savage ever descended to such a level?

There are several references in Maori lore to a being styled Ha; the name being sometimes coupled with that of Io, as "Io and Ha." The name has not been noted in the teachings of the *whare wananga* of the east coast tribes. John White gives the name in the form of A, and states that this was another name for Io, the great creator of all things. He also says, "The soul of man was generally believed to be a ray from the *mana* of A, or, as he is sometimes called, Io."

In Turner's *Samoa* we note the following remark in an account of the food-supplies of that group: "A scarcity of food . . . they were in the habit of tracing to the wrath of one of their gods, called O-le-Sa (or the Sacred One)." This title, in the Maori dialect of New Zealand, would be Ko-te-Ha (The Ha), which seems to show the name to be an ancient one, for it is a long time since the two peoples separated.

In this case, as in that of Io, the meaning of the word *ha* may throw some light on the name. At Niue we find that *ha* means "to be, to exist." At Samoa *sa* (Maori *ha*) means "forbidden, sacred." In our local dialect *ha* means "breath" and "to breathe." We have in native lore no reference to Ha as an active entity, or any explanations such as are given concerning Io, save the remarks of White quoted above. In Phoenician myth Ha represents chaos, which is curiously suggestive. There is nothing to suggest that Ha represented the female element, and until further light is shed on the subject it is impossible to say what Ha really did represent.

White mentions a Ha-nui-o-rangi (Great Ha of the Heavens) in his *Ancient History of the Maori* (vol. 1, p. 21), but does not explain his status, though he associates him with Tawhiri-matea. A cosmogonic genealogy collected by Mr. A. L. D. Fraser is as follows:—

Io me Ha (Io and Ha)
Io-nuku
Io-rangi
Tawhito-te-raki
Rangi me Papa (*me* = and).

A close examination of the cult of Io will show that he was assuredly a moral influence in what may perhaps be termed an indirect manner. He issued no Ten Commandments, or, so far as we know, any rules or behests pertaining to ethics, but the rules and practices of the cultus demanded moral purity of any person taking part in the ceremonial performances connected with the same. This will be made clear when we come to describe its ritual.

In the past anthropologists have believed that the concept of an eternal, creative, and moral (or at least not immoral) being has been reached only by peoples that have attained a high stage of culture. That belief was an error that has now been disproved in various parts of the world, though some conservative folk are chary of admitting it. Waitz was amazed at such evidence being authenticated as pertaining to a negro community of Africa. The task of acquiring knowledge of the inner beliefs and practices, the esoteric teachings, of the lower races of mankind is a long and difficult one; from the great majority of inquirers it is most effectually concealed. As Lang puts it: "Our knowledge is confused and scanty; often it is derived from men who do not know the native language . . . or have not been trusted with what the savage treasures as his secret."

We may describe Maori religion as being something apart from morality if we will, yet it surely acted as a deterrent; it supplied the place of civil law in the Maori commune, and so seems to have been of greater utility, more efficacious, of more real advantage to the community than is our own religion.

It seems possible that a further knowledge of the cult of Io, and the beliefs of the superior class of priestly adepts of old, would disclose something closely resembling pantheism, or cosmotheism. Some of the utterances of the *tohunga* of last century seem to support such an assumption.

B.—The Departmental Gods.

We now come to the second grade of Maori gods, such as presided over certain industries, arts, natural productions, &c., which gods occupy a very important position in the Maori pantheon. These departmental gods were really the highest deities known to the ordinary people. A fact that must be borne in mind is that these superior beings were viewed by the Maori in a peculiar light. They were not ordinary *atua*, but partook of the character of tutelary beings, or originating powers, and of personifications. They occupy a different plane to that of the gods of the third and fourth classes. Each of these beings presided over his own department, but other and inferior beings also entered into the activities of such department. This curious aspect has already been referred to. The superior being is the controller of his special field, but may not be an active agent or participant in any function or enterprise that is being carried on. His *mana* (prestige, power) and *tapu* affect and pervade all such activities; they are necessary, effective, and, above all, must be respected, and yet the ritual formulae employed may not be directed to that chief being, but to some *atua* of inferior status.

Winwood Reade tells us that savage man believed in a multiplicity of supernatural beings — "gods," as most writers glibly term them, though the name is often a misleading one. He states that as they become more and more capable of general ideas, of classing facts into systems, and of arranging phenomena into groups, they instituted departmental gods. The passages referred to read as though other and minor gods were abandoned when the concept of departmental deities was evolved. This, however, is not so. The institution of such major gods does not mean the abolishment of minor supernatural beings. Thus we see, among the Maori folk, such beings as our classes C and D represent, not only co-existent with departmental gods, but also taking part in the affairs of such department. Moreover, besides these minor *atua*, we must also admit the existence of innumerable evil spirits, and beneficent, or, rather, harmless spirits — spirits indwelling in natural objects, personifications, a teeming host of sentient, invisible beings. It is assuredly an axiomatic truth that the lower we descend in the scale of supernormal beings the more numerous do they become.

Our departmental gods under discussion are anthropomorphic beings, endowed with certain human qualities. This may be viewed as a natural sequence, a fact that often we do not recognize. Writers, in dealing with the gods of peoples of the lower culture stages, often speak disparagingly of their anthropomorphic concepts; but in what other form do we, or can we, conceive a supernormal being? The God of Christianity is unquestionably viewed as a being in human form, and, in the Old Testament, Jehovah is endowed with human passions and vindictiveness. No mind can continually think of God as a pure abstraction; to really conceive such a concept, even for a brief period, calls for the exercise of intense introspective thought.

In his work *New Zealand and its Aborigines* William Brown writes concerning the gods of the Maori: "Their *atua* are all evil disposed, and the natives have no good deity." Now, this is all very well from one point of view, but we should recognize the fact that such gods are 'evil disposed' or, rather, hostile to man when he has merited such hostility, and that at other times the being was by no means evilly disposed towards man, but protected and assisted him. Certainly another condition might arise, as in warfare, or the exercise of black magic, wherein the services of an *atua* might be employed in order to slay enemies who had not transgressed any rules, or offended such being. But then enemies would be outside the commune, and no laws, rules, or codes of ethics extend outside the tribal bounds.

In many lands and in many ways has man sought to account for the existence of evil. Why should God, or the gods, countenance evil? This has been a vexed question for many centuries, and still is to many people. We have seen how the Maori accounts for the origin of evil; it is represented by one of the three baskets of knowledge obtained by Tane from the Supreme Being. In this case evil is deliberately given to man by a Being who is said to have no connection with evil—a creative, moral God, who will assist or countenance no evil acts. One can only suppose that man was deliberately placed in the position of choosing for himself good or evil: each person must decide for himself. Even so did the scholars in the old school of learning of the Maori choose the subjects they desired to learn, whether the contents of the basket of good or that of evil.

I feel strongly inclined to question the correctness of Lubbock's statement concerning the gods of the lower savages—that they are evil, not good; that they neither reward the good nor punish the evil. Inasmuch, however, as the Maori is not a "lower savage," and I do not pretend to know any other native race, I will hold my peace.

In his little work on *Animism* Clodd has a passage to the effect that the good gods of savages abide in their own place and take no heed of mankind, "while the malevolent deities are in a constant state of jealous and mischievous activity." There is much truth in this, but not all the truth. For instance, with the Maori, Io was certainly invoked, and his help was considered the most important, though such appeals were made only by a limited class. The lower gods, again, are not always hostile, but only when they have been offended by neglect or by transgression of *tapu*. Doubtless other native races will be found to resemble the Maori in these respects, but we have not searched deep enough in most cases to enable us to give precise information.

The really evil god of the Maori pantheon is Whiro, for he is the god—or, rather, personification—of evil. In this case we have a god who is always active for evil—in fact, a malevolent being is called an *atua whiro* (evil god), so that the word has come to be used as an adjective, meaning "evil," in vernacular speech. Here the origin of the evil of the world is concentrated in Whiro; but such evil pertains to sickness, death, &c., more than to moral evil, though the latter seems to be included, for an immoral person is described as a *whiro*. Tylor tells us that "It is certain that even among rude savage hordes native thought has already turned toward the deep problem of good and evil. Their crude though earnest speculation has already tried to solve the great mystery which still resists the efforts of moralists and theologians." This thoughtful and able writer calls for information concerning any evidence collected from native races as to their anticipation of the doctrines of higher nations in the matter of the conduct of the universe by personified forms of good and evil. He seems to have believed that such unelaborated beliefs are found among the lower races, such beliefs as produced Zoroastrianism. Had he but known the half-evolved concepts of the Maori he would have recognized their great interest and the important evidence they supply in regard to the evolution of that religious system. Such dualistic conceptions are of the highest interest.

It must be admitted that Whiro, the personified form of evil, was frequently propitiated by the natives, by means of small gifts, usually of foodstuffs, whereas no offerings were made to Io. But Whiro was known to all, and was more active than the Supreme Being; while the latter was known to a few only, and was far too *tapu* and important to receive offerings. There was no necessity for any offerings to Io, for he worked no harm to any person, he punished no one—there was no need to propitiate him.

In his work *Te Ika a Maui* the Rev. R. Taylor remarks: "The Maori gods were demons whose evil designs could only be counteracted by powerful spells and charms; these proving effectual, sacrifices and offerings were made to soothe the vanquished spirits and appease their wrath." This statement leaves a false impression—that these gods were always endeavouring to injure man whether he deserved punishment or not. This is error. In most cases such formulae were recited in order to placate the gods and

obtain their assistance in regard to some coming enterprise. Offerings, again, were made to the gods more to prevent wrath than to appease it.

Tane.

We will commence our survey of the departmental gods of the Maori by an examination of Tane, who may assuredly be termed the most important being of that class. This is shown by the fact of his greater and more important activities. It was Tane who assumed the most important tasks; he was the most conspicuous of the offspring of the primal parents; his acts had the greatest effect on the world in native myth. He it was who ascended to the realm of Io, the mighty one, and obtained the three receptacles of occult knowledge, the greatest of boons to mankind; he defeated and banished the powers of darkness; he was the author of all vegetation; he created the first woman, and so produced man: truly, these marvellous acts make for importance.

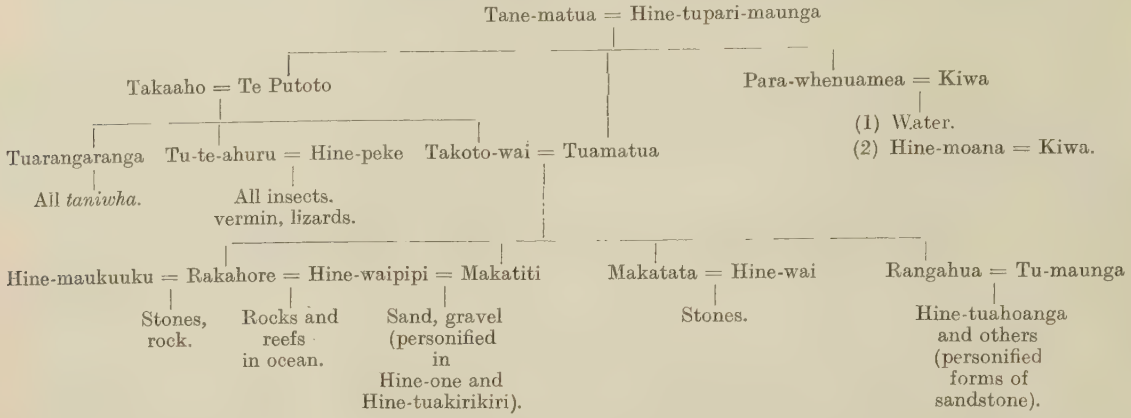
Tane is known to the scattered bands of the Maori from New Zealand to the Hawaiian Isles. At the Marquesas he is the brother of Atea; at Mangaia, the father of all; but at both places overshadowed by Atea and Vatea. At Huahine he was an important deity; at Mangareva Kane is "warmth of sun." Tane, Tu, and Rongo form a most important trio, but in some isles of Polynesia Tangaroa becomes the most important being. Fornander tells us that Tane, Tu, and Rongo at Hawaii represent light, stability, and sound. In regard to Tane this is correct, but as to Tu and Rongo I must certainly disagree with Fornander. There is no evidence to show that these represent stability and sound. Fornander has evidently accepted the dictionary meaning of two words employed as proper names—a most dangerous procedure.

Fornander gives some curious Hawaiian items showing that Tane was viewed by them as a *linga* god, or at least as representing the male element, or as the fertilizer. Certain upright stones were known as the "stones of Tane," which formerly served as altars, or places of offering at what may be called family worship. "These stone pillars were sprinkled with water, or anointed with coconut-oil, and the upper part frequently covered with a black native cloth, the colour of garment which priests wore on special occasions."

We have already surveyed many attributes of Tane, and given some account of his position and cultus among other branches of the race. We shall again encounter his far-reaching influence when we come to deal with ritual formulae and the spirit-world. These more important departmental beings, such as Tane, Tu, Rongo, Tangaroa, and Tawhiri-matea, appear to have possessed no *aria*, or form of incarnation, as did many gods of lower grades. This means that Tane and his class did not make themselves visible to man in any form pertaining to the earth. They were presiding beings, but not the active and more familiar beings that lower *atua* were. They presided over departments, each of which included a number of inferior beings (*atua*), and theirs was the *mana* under which those inferior beings operated. These two classes of supernormal beings are on a different plane, and it is unfortunate that we apply the term "gods" to both. In his *Hibbert Lectures* Reville tells us that personified powers of nature come to be considered as anthropomorphic beings endowed with human passions. But there are two grades of such beings in Maori myth: one is represented by such "heads of departments" as Tane, the other by beings of a lower status who are utilized or employed, as it were, by priestly mediums, to act as protectors or as active agents in some way. Thus Tane himself is the superior tutelary being connected with forests, but there are minor beings also, such as Punaweko, the origin and personification of birds; Rara-taunga-rere, connected with the fertility of trees; and others. Again, in Tane we have a personification of the sun, who occupies an important position, but in Rongomai, Kahukura, and Tunui-a-te-ika we have personifications of natural phenomena who occupy a distinctly lower plane, and are more frequently appealed to.

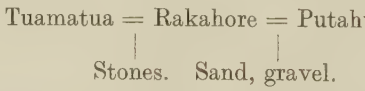
Tane was directly appealed to in what may be termed the higher-class ritual, wherein we see his name used in conjunction with those of Ruatau, Rongo, Rehua, and other important beings. It is even known to occur in the same ritual in which the mighty Io is invoked.

We have already seen how Tane produced trees, but it must also be shown how Tane became to be the origin of water, rock, stones, snow, hail, &c. :—



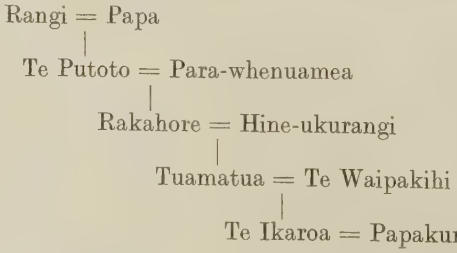
Here we have Tane the Parent, or Begetter, taking to wife the Mountain Maid. Their three offspring are the progenitors of monsters, insects, and the waters of the earth. Tuamatua takes Takoto-wai (reclining in water) to wife, and begets all forms of rock, stones, gravel, and sand. Rakahore is the origin and personified form of all rock. He and Hine-one and Hine-tuakirikiri (personified forms of sand and gravel) ever protect the flanks of the Earth Mother from the attacks of Hine-moana, the Ocean Maid, the personified form of the ocean. Hine-waipipi and Hine-wai apparently personify water; thus rock and water are mated and produce gravel and sand. The native mind has noted the effect of water on rock and stone, and so has allegorized a scientific fact in the usual mytho-poetic manner. The offspring of Rangahua are simply personified forms of different kinds of sandstone, of whom Hine-tuahoanga is the principal one; others are Hine-k'ri-taratara, Hine-maheni, &c.—all females, and all denoting some aspect of sandstone. Sandstones of different degrees of coarseness, &c., were much used by the Maori in his various industries. Para-whenuamea is the origin of all waters, including the ocean. She was taken to wife by Kiwa, the guardian being of the ocean realm, and so produced all waters, the ocean being personified in Hine-moana, who became K wa's second wife. Para-whenuamea has been identified by Mr. S. Percy Smith with Pele-honuamea of Hawaiian myth. Hine-moana is ever assailing the body of the Earth Mother, and all bays and inlets are the result of *te ngaunga a Hine-moana* (the gnawing of Hine-moana). Para-whenuamea was also the parent or origin of *oneparahua* and *onepu* (alluvial deposits, silt, and sand).

Another version of this myth is as under :—



Hine-maukuuku in the first table is also called Hine-ukurang', the Clay Maid.

The following version differs again somewhat :—



Para-whenuamea above represents water, of which she is the personified form, while Rakahore is the personification of rock. Hine-ukurangi, to judge by her name, should represent clay, while Tuamatua is the parent of stones, pebbles, and sand. Te Ikaroa and Papakura were the parents of *taniwha*, or water-monsters, that assume many different forms. The sister of the *taniwha* is the Horu (red ochre), and they dwell together within

their ancestress Para-whenuamea—that is to say, in the water. Then, their younger relatives —stones, gravel, and sand—were also placed there to shelter the *taniwha* and their offspring, hence they are seen in the water protecting their elders. These *taniwha* appear to man when he trespasses on their domain, because they are *tapu* beings.

Other offspring of Rakahore (rock) and Hine-ukurangi were Whatuaho, who represents obsidian; Papakura, another progenitor of stones; Tauira-karapa, a form of greenstone; Hine-tauira (a stone name, a kind of flint), and Hine-tuahoanga. This latter is the personified form of all kinds of sandstone such as were used as grinding-stones and rasps.

The weak point in the above relation is the fact that Te Putoto does not appear in the list of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, the Sky Father and Earth Mother.

Another version of this old myth concerning the origin of stones shows that Tuamatua and Te Ao-hore had the following progeny:—

(1.) Whatuira.
(2.) Whatuirarapa.
(3.) Poutini.
(4.) Te Ahorangi.
(5.) Raparapa-te-uira.
(6.) Rangitoto.
(7.) Te Hinurewa.
(8.) Wharauroa.
(9.) Auhunga.
(10.) Tangiwai.
(11.) Te Mata-ahomatua.
(12.) Te Mata-tohikura.
(13.) Te Mata-tohiawa.
(14.) Te Mata-waiapu.
(15.) Te Mata-whakapau.
(16.) Hine-tuahoanga.

The only Ao-hore we wot of in Maori myth is a personified form of clouds, but what clouds have to do with the origin of stones is by no means easy to see. The above list includes the names of several varieties of greenstone (nephrite), flint, and chert, also bowenite and sandstone. Thus Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, and 9 are terms applied to greenstone, Poutini being used as a kind of emblematical name for greenstone; he is now represented by a star in the heavens. No. 6 is a name for lava and scoria, but is also said to be a name for a kind of greenstone. No. 10 is bowenite. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are flint and chert names –stones employed in the manufacture of implements by the Maori. No. 16 we have already discussed, while Nos. 4, 5, and 7 are not identified.

Such names of personified forms of inanimate objects as we have given were much employed by the Maori in discourse, hence such sayings as "*He ope na Hine-tuakirikiri e kore e taea te tatau*" (equivalent to our "Numerous as the sands of the seashore").

Tane as the Origin of Birds.

The origin of birds in Maori myth is an excellent illustration of the Maori genius for personification. The accounts given by different tribes do not agree with each other, but such disagreements are not confined to savages or uncultured folk. In the version under observation we are told that birds were the offspring of Tane-nui-a-Rangi and one Kahu-parauri. The latter was related to Turangi, who is shown elsewhere to be one of the parents of the heavenly bodies. Parauri appears in other versions as the origin or personified form of the *tui* bird.

The offspring of Tane and Kahu-parauri were Kokomako, Patahoro, Kokako, Koko, &c. (all bird-names). These were fed by means of *rehurehua-koko**—whatever that may mean, possibly something connected with the forest. As these offspring did not flourish they were then nourished on the vermin of their ancestor Turangi, which appear to have been flies. This diet also failing, they were then fed on the vermin of the heads of the younger relatives, of Tutu, Mako, Toro, Maire, Matai, Miro, and Kahika, of the forest of Tane. (All these are names of trees the berries of which are eaten by birds.) It was now that Tane turned to the reciting of ritual over the vermin of his first-born offspring (that is, over the fruits of forest-trees), lest their relatives perish. This was his charm so recited:—

Kai ana uru
Kai ana tonga
Kai ana hau
Kai ana upa
Kai ana piko
Kai ana ringa wharo
Kai ana Tawhaitari
Kai ana te ihi matua
Kai ana te pae matua
E kai kia whiu
E kai kia upa
E kai kia tina
E kai kia tonene
Ka mama ai te hanahana o Kahu-parauri . . . e . . . i.

* *Or*, Koko was fed by means of *rehurehu*.

Thus Tane rendered the forest fertile and enabled trees to reproduce their species, and on the berries of these trees the offspring of Tane, Parauri, Punaweko, and those of other beings who produced birds, were nourished.

Connected with this subject is Te Rara-taunga-rere, who seems to be a personified form of fertility, as of seeds, berries, fruits. Hence it is that Te Rara-taunga-rere and Hukahuka-tea were the houses or repositories in which tree-seeds were conserved, whence they were obtained by Tane.

One Punaweko is said to have been the origin of forest-birds, and he is certainly viewed as the personified form thereof. Hurumanu occupies a similar position in regard to sea-birds, while Raka-maomao was the origin of *tapu* birds. The latter is a singular and unexplained connection, for Raka-maomao is connected with the south, and Te Potiki a Raka-maomao (the child of Raka) is a term applied to the south wind. La'a-maomao represented the rainbow at Samoa.

Hokahoka is spoken of as the origin of the hawk (*kahu*), the sparrow-hawk (*karearea*), and some similar birds, while Tane-te-hokahoka was the origin of small birds. In one version Rehua is said to have been the origin of the *tui* or *koko* bird, which birds concealed themselves in his hair and fed upon the vermin of his head. Here Rehua seems to represent trees, and in the Hawaiian Isles *lehua* was an old-time word denoting a forest, though now obsolete.

Rehua's house was at Te Putahi-o-rangiaho; his house was Te Uruuru-rangi, situated at Tiritiri-o-Matangi, which is the eleventh of the twelve heavens.

Tane-te-hokahoka given above does not seem to be another name of the Tane under discussion; he is given as a distinct member of the Whanau-a-Rangi, or offspring of the Sky Parent. Tane the Great had a number of names—twelve it is said—each of which has its meaning as illustrating a phase of his activities.

As an illustration of how the Maori traces his descent from the primal parents through Tane the Fertilizer, and so claims a supernatural origin, the following line is given:—

Rangi = Papa
Tane = Hine-ahu-one
Tane = Hine-titama

Hine-rau-wharangi
Rua-kawerau
Karanga-tahi
Pae-whekii
Awanga-i-te-uru
Te Awhenga
Kuratau
Tao-matua
Huru-rangi
Paku-kino
Tore-rautahi
Moko-nui
Te Iho-matua
Muri-hau
Te Kawa-a-Tane
Tuku-heke
Mataura
Te Waha-o-te-rangi
Kohu-matua
Te Komaru-nui

—Pae-whenua
Whakaahu
Toko-manawa
Rauru-rangi
Pipi-rangi
Te Ranga-a-toro
Kahutia-te-rangi
Ngatoro-i-rangi (an immigrant from Polynesia)
Hautu-te-rangi
Moeahu
Kura-moe-roki
Rua-wairangi
Nga Pouaka
Ngatoro-mataroa
Ruaiti
Rangi-tauira
Rangi-matakoha
Rakai-moari

—Kahukura-mango
Humarie
Tataiaho
Tu-wairau
Rakai-te-kura
Tumapuhi-a-rangi
Rongo-maiaia
Hika-mataki
Hine-waka
Te Ariki
Kumu-whero
Nga Rangi-topetopea
Hine-ki-runga-te-rangi
Tarewa
Te Miha-o-te-rangi
Ratima
Meiha Keepa
Hemi.

Here we have fifty-eight generations from the primal parents, so man seems to have originated about the year 400 A.D., a fact of some interest. The names prior to that

of Ngatoro-i-rangi are probably mostly mythical. Some branches of the race possess very much longer lines of descent from the parents of mankind, long lists of mythical names, often including, in their earlier parts, names signifying evolutionary processes, stages of development, such as we have noted in Maori cosmogonic lore. As a rule Maori genealogies may be considered fairly reliable for a period of from twenty to thirty generations—that is, from the time they settled in these isles. Beyond that period we find ourselves among beings who were evidently personifications, such as Tawhaki, Wahieroa, Whaitiri, &c.

The myth of Tane and Hine-ahu-one (the Earth-formed Maid) apparently illustrates the fertilization of the earth by the sun. At Samoa we find the myth of a woman named Mangamangai, who was impregnated by the sun. When this child attained maturity he ascended to the sun and obtained from him a "basket of blessings," which reminds us of Tane and his acquisition of the "baskets of knowledge."

The name Tane-te-po-tiwha, or Tane of the Dark Night, or realm of darkness, probably represents him during his passage through the underworld, or below the earth. This lower region in which the sun is lost every night is known to the Maori as *te kainga huna a Tane* (the hidden realm of Tane). At Hawaii it is termed the *aina huna a Kane*, showing a dropped *k* and the T changed to K, a modern letter-change. Fornander tells us that the Hawaiians look upon it as a "land of plenty and bliss," and that it is supposed to be situated far to the north-west of the Hawaiian Isles. In the past several expeditions have started from the Marquesas Group in search of this mythical "happy land."

Among the Tahitians the tenth heaven was that of Tane. At Huahine he was the tutelary deity of the isle.

In his *Hibbert Lectures* Reville has sagely remarked: "It is the phenomena of nature, regarded as animated and conscious, that wake and stimulate the religious sentiment and become the object of the adoration of man." Now, in works on the natives of New Zealand and Polynesia there is a marked lack of definite information concerning any cult of the heavenly bodies—of sun, moon, or star worship. This would appear to be a very remarkable thing were it not that the lack is but apparent, and does not really exist. The cause of our failure to recognize such a cultus is the fact that never yet have we conceived the extraordinary genius of the Maori for personification. Here is the key to our ignorance. We know how important a position Tane occupies in the Maori pantheon —how he was placated and invoked as the principal departmental being—but we did not recognize that he represents the sun. The Maori of to-day has forgotten that Tane is the sun, but clear and fair lies the proof. A similar state of things exists in connection with the moon; we have not recognized the fact that the Maori practised a moon cult because, in that case also, a personification was employed.

As to whether the cult of Tane would have been further developed, carried to a higher plane, had not the arrival of Europeans disturbed native beliefs it is idle to inquire. Good and evil gods have originally been allied to, and have represented, light and darkness; thus Tane may have developed into a superior form of deity, a moral being, in course of time. If so, he would assuredly have been still opposed to Whiro, and some change would have taken place in regard to the native belief in the spirit-world. The beginning of such a change had already occurred, as will be shown elsewhere. The type of ritual pertaining to the cult of Tane will also be explained in a future chapter.

When one reflects upon the clearly evident power of the sun in promoting growth and welfare generally, then one sees that such a folk as the Polynesians could scarcely refrain from evoking a sun cult. Max Muller quotes the following passage from a writer on the American Indians: "When the Indians saw the power of the sun in bringing life out of the earth in the shape of growing plants from hidden seeds, the sun seemed to them like a living spirit."

A peculiarity noted in connection with these departmental and tutelary beings is that their names are often applied to the objects they represent. Thus fire is sometimes

referred to as Mahuika, the origin of fire, and who may also be said to personify it. In like manner trees are called Tane, and canoes are referred to as Tane, because they are made from trees, which are the offspring of Tane. Canoes are also termed the *ara tauwhaiti a Tane* (the narrow conveyance of Tane), and the *riu o Tane* (as likening a canoe to a hollow tree-trunk).

Ceremonial offerings were made to Tane in connection with many functions and activities. In many cases a *tapu* fire was kindled, at which the priestly expert roasted a bird as an offering to Tane. This offering might be eaten by the priest if he was of sufficiently high rank, otherwise he would place it on a tree to be consumed by Tane. In such cases the *atua* merely consumed the semblance of the food.

In a paper on "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific," published in vol. 2 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, we are told that "Tane is, with little doubt, the same god in New Zealand as in Hawaii, though in the former place he is regarded as the male principle, and in the latter as the god of light." It is now time that we recognized the fact that Tane is also the god of light in New Zealand, of which there is ample proof.

Tane was well known at Tahiti, and in former times was the great tutelar god of that island before Oro became supreme. Banks tells us that Tupaea "often prayed to Tane for a wind, and as often boasted to me of the success of his prayers, which I plainly saw he never began till he perceived a breeze so near the ship that it generally reached her before his prayer was finished." There are some signs also that the sun was venerated and treated as an *atua*, under the name of Ra, in one isle at least of the Society Group (for which see Fornander's *Polynesian Race*, vol. 1, p. 44). The Maori folk have a tradition that a direct sun cult was practised at Rangiatea (Ra'iatea Island) long centuries ago, before their ancestors came to New Zealand. Fornander states that the first high chief of Ra'iatea is said in native myth to have been the grandson of Uruu-matamata, who was the son of Ra (the sun). This Uru may or may not be connected with the Maori Uru-te-ngangana. Fornander's double vowels are confusing, his use of them not being consistent, apparently.

In New Zealand Tane is very closely connected with the forest and its products, and this aspect is not apparent at the Cook, Society, and Hawaiian Groups. It is quite possible that this change has been caused by the long residence in forest-clad New Zealand.

In vol. 19 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* Mr. Blyth confuses Tane with Tiki, for it is the latter who personifies the creative power of Tane.

Although Tane and his brethren, offspring of Rangi and Papa, are tutelary and creative beings, departmental creators holding supreme power each in his own department, yet the application of the term "god" to them may be objected to. Some authorities assert that such beings belong more to mythology than to religion. This may be so, yet when we know that these beings were placated by offerings, and also invoked by the Maori when he felt that he needed their assistance or protection, then assuredly we must deal with them as we do with other supernormal beings, such as what may be termed "spirit gods." The religious ceremonial of the Maori pertained largely to these beings; they were on a superior plane to that occupied by deified ancestors, and many of what may be termed "nature gods," personified forms of natural phenomena. With our *atua maori* the sons of the Earth Mother must remain.

In like manner is the old Sky Father appealed to in Maori ritual; and the primal parents, Sky and Earth, were ever looked upon as the origin of all things, not of man alone. Hence this cultus of departmental gods may be viewed as a family affair pertaining to the first parents and their many offspring. All these beings were superior to the *atua* of the third and fourth classes, and were inferior only to Io. Many of the inferior beings may be viewed as underlings of the departmental gods or tutelary beings. Thus all

the many inferior *atua* utilized as war-gods, whose aid was sought in times of stress, are below the rank of Tu.

The fact that Tane represents knowledge in its higher branches, occult lore, resolves itself into the belief that knowledge emanated from the sun. Thus, in Tane-i-te-hiringa we appear to have the personified form of such knowledge, and Tane is also the Fertilizer, the creative being. In far-off Asia the Vedic poets deemed the sun the leader of the gods, the creator and protector, and as one who knows all things.

Tu.

Here we have another member of the great Polynesian trinity of Tane, Tu, and Rongo. As in the case of Tane, so also is Tu known far and wide across the Pacific area. In New Zealand Tu is the principal war-god; he is, as it were, at the head of the war department. In some cases he is credited with having brought man into existence, but the higher-class teachings of the east coast do not admit this. His name is often lengthened, as in the case of Tane, by the addition of terms denoting his functions, &c., as in Tu-matauenga, Tu-mata-whaiti, Tu-kai-taua, Tu-ka-riri, and Tu-ka-nguha. Tu is the destroyer of man, the lord of the red field of war, and thus is associated with death. All men taking part in a war expedition came under the *tapu* of Tu, and were forced to be extremely circumspect in their behaviour. Any infringement of the rules of such *tapu* was a very serious matter, for the offender would thereby be left defenceless, exposed to innumerable dangers. His one hope was to apply to the priestly expert of the party in order that he might again be brought under the protecting power.

Tu was well known at the far-away Hawaiian group, and at Tahiti. At Samoa Tu was a war-god, as in New Zealand, and he was also known at the Cook Islands and Mangareva. The Rev. Mr. Gill tell us that, in Mangaian myth, the art of war was learned from Tu-kai-taua and Tu-tawake, denizens of the underworld. Both these names for Tu are employed in New Zealand. At Aitutaki this Tu-kai-taua is, curiously enough, a benevolent being. At Mangaia it was Tu-kai-taua who introduced death into the world. In vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 115, Colonel Gudgeon writes concerning Tu, "Great as his power and *mana* have been, it must not be forgotten that he it was that brought death into the world in expiation of the sin committed when they rebelled against their parents." Again, Judge Fenton states, in his *Suggestions for a History of the Maori People*, as follows: "Tu, the god of death and bloodshed, representing the setting sun, and Ra, the sun god, were generally recognized over all Akkadia." Professor Sayce wrote: "Tu was the god of death in Assyria." The Rev. Mr. Gill tells us that Tu dwells in the underworld, in Mangaian myth. It is quite possible that Tu does represent the setting sun, in which case he would assuredly become connected with death, for ever are the two allied in the beliefs of barbaric man.

In the Rev. Mr. Gill's Rarotongan papers we are told that Tu, Tane, and Rongo are gods of the heavens. In vol. 19 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, p. 504, is an extract from a Hawaiian poem:—

Tane, lord of night, lord the father;
Tu-te-pako in the hot heavens;
Great Rongo with the flashing eyes.

How Fornander could render these names as "light," "sound," and "stability," in face of the evidence, it is hard to grasp. We must admit that Tane represents light, but what have Rongo and Tu to do with sound and stability? In this extract they both appear to represent heavenly bodies. Why should Tu be located in the hot heavens? And what right has "sound" to possess flashing eyes?

Once more, in vol. 2 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 132, we find, "May Tu and Tane and Tama meet; may the light come." Is Tu the personified form

of the setting sun here, as Tu was in Accadia, and as Tum was in Egypt? Wyatt Gill tells us that, in Mangaian myth, the sun-god Ra drops down behind the horizon and so lights up the nether world, wherein dwells Tu, his wife, whom he thus frequently visits. Here we see that the sun passes every night with Tu, and so we have Tu of Babylonia corresponding with Tu of Polynesia, and connected with the setting sun and death, while Ra-tum, of ancient Egypt, is the *ra tumu* of eastern Polynesia—the setting sun.

In New Zealand Tu is undoubtedly a male being, as also apparently at Hawaii; but Gill speaks of Tu as the tutelar goddess of Moorea Isle. This latter may possibly be a different being. As to Tu being the creator of Tiki, the first man, we have shown in another paper that Tiki was no man, but merely a personification.

Tu was known at Mangareva, the Gambier Group, where he was the principal *atua* of the people. In vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 124, we are told that Mangareva natives viewed Tu as a sort of trinity composed of Atu-motua, Atu-moana, and Atea-Tangaroa. Atea-Tangaroa is a curious compound form, including two well-known Polynesian terms. Atea personifies space in some groups, in others light; while Tangaroa we shall deal with shortly.

Tu was a secondary *atua* at Niue, where he is said to be an albino, but we have no further particulars from that isle.

Rongo.

We now come to the third member of the trio, Tane, Tu, and Rongo, the most important of the departmental tutelary beings of Maori myth. In New Zealand we find that Rongo presides over the peace department, he is what we call the god of peace, of peace-making ceremonial, and of the art of agriculture. He is also known as Rongo-maraeroa. His functions are said to extend to such manifestations and activities of human sympathy as hospitality, generosity, and all the courtesies of life coming under the head of the expression *manaaki tangata*. At Mangaia Rongo seems to have been viewed as the principal god, though his attributes and functions are very different from those of the New Zealand Rongo. The desirable qualities and activities of the latter are referred to at p. 9 of the Kauwae-runga (vol. 3 of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*).

Rongo is said to have been the principal being of the original Whare-kura, which was situated at the place known as Hawaiki-nui, in the far-distant homeland of Irihia. To Rongo-maraeroa pertain all cultivated food products, the *kumara*, *taro*, *hue*, *ari*, and *korau*, and such other products as may have been cultivated in past times and other lands. These products are the sweet potato, *Colocasia antiquorum*, the gourd—while the last two are doubtful. Maori tradition describes *ari* as a "bloodless" (? dry, sapless) food, hence it was used as an offering to the gods in those ancient times. *Ari* is the Dravidian name for rice. The *korau* is another puzzle, for we know it merely as the name of the introduced turnip. There was a considerable amount of *tapu* pertaining to agricultural operations among the Maori folk, and all such ritual and *tapu* were connected with Rongo. He was the protector of crops, and he was appealed to as the one to cause all crops to flourish and bear abundantly. Pani and others appealed to for the same reason were inferior beings.

We have a singular form of name in "Rongomatane," as is it usually written, but which presumably should be Rongo-ma-Tane, which can only be rendered as "Rongo and Tane." This peculiar coupling of the names of Rongo and Tane has not been explained, but is a subject of much interest. This form is known in New Zealand, also at the Society and Cook Groups. In local lore, as among Ngati-Awa of the Bay of Plenty, it occurs as though it were simply a lengthened form of the name Rongo. In the Rev. Mr. Gill's notes on traditions of the Cook Islands we note that Rongo and Rongo-ma-Tane are given as two separate beings (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 24, p. 154). At p. 119 of vol. 16 of the *Journal* quoted we find the following note concerning Rongo-ma-

Tane: "Rongo and Tane. Rongo is essentially and originally lord of the abundance of harvest. It is, however, realized that but for Tane, who is lord of the forest, plants, and vegetation generally, there would be no such abundance. So we occasionally, and very rarely too, find the names of Rongo and Tane conjoined and honoured together as lords of abundance." When we examine the various myths pertaining to Rongo we can see that he was not originally a harvest lord; he is a personification of something that preceded harvests and crops.

This being is best known to the Maori as Rongo and Rongo-maraeroa—certainly not as Rongo-ma-Tane, which form is much less often heard, though Tregear does not agree with this. Ellis shows us that this peculiar conjunction of names was known at Tahiti. He writes it as "Romatane," instead of "Ro'o-ma-Tane," the apostrophe marking the place of the dropped *ng*. Ellis uses this as the name of a single being, who is the ruler or custodian of the spirit-world in the heavens. Elsewhere Ellis states that Ro'o-tane was the god of peace. The Ro'o-nui (Rongo-nui, or Great Rongo) mentioned at p. 1 of vol. 21 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* is probably the same being.

At Atiu Island Rongo is said to be a son of Tangaroa. At Mangaia (Cook Islands) and at Rimatara (Austral Group) Rongo was the principal god. At p. 14 of his *Myths and Songs* the Rev. Mr. Gill evidently confuses Oro (Koro) of Tahiti with Rongo, for the latter was certainly not "the chief object of worship at Tahiti." He tells us that Rongo and Tangaroa were the twin children of Vatea and Papa, in the Mangaian version. It was Tangaroa who instructed Rongo in the arts of agriculture. Rongo was styled an *atua po* (a supernatural being pertaining to night or the underworld). It is of interest to note that he was also connected with cultivated food products at Mangaia. The Rev. Mr. Gill renders the name of Rongo as "the Resounder"—much the same as Fornander's rendering; but this is not satisfactory—we must go further than "sound" to understand Rongo.

At Samoa Rongo is said to be the offspring of Tangaroa and Sina (= Hina = moon). In Dr. Fraser's account of the Samoan story of creation, as given in vol. 1 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Tangaroa, the primal god, is said to have created Longo-noa, but no particulars are given concerning this being.

At the Hawaiian Islands Rongo is said to live on or in the waters, and he is said to be the light of heaven on earth. He was styled "Great Rongo dwelling on the Waters." At Hawaii also Tane, Tu, and Rongo are said to be three in one three manifestations of one being—which is remarkably suggestive. Here Rongo is the water-dweller, just as Hina-uri is said to be. Again, at p. 52 of vol. 30 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* we find an extract from certain ritual connected with the above trinity, in which Tane is associated with Tu in the blazing heavens, "with great Rongo of the flashing eyes, a god, the god of lightning, the fixed light of heaven standing on the earth," &c. And yet, so effective is example, the writer of the article tells us that Rongo represents sound. Truly, a dictionary is not an unmixed blessing!

In writing of the moon-god of Accadia Fenton says: "This god was regarded as masculine, and seems to have borne also the name of Rono." At p. 121 of his little work *Suggestions for a History of the Maori People* he refers to Ra, Rono, and Tangaroa as signifying sun, moon, and sea. At p. 122 he states that the Orongonui night of the moon was so called after an ancient name of the moon-god. He also seems to connect Rono, or Rongo, with Rona. Now, Rona is, in common myth, the "woman of the moon," but the higher version is that Rona is the leader or conductor of the moon, and is the "tide-controller."

We know that Rongo appears as Lono at the Hawaiian Isles, and that Hina, Ina and Sina in various groups is the moon and the dweller in the moon. A Hawaiian myth given at p. 172 of vol. 20 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* shows that Hina came from a far land where she had a husband named Makalii (Maori Matariki = the

Pleiades), who became the stars of the Pleiades. In after-time Hina ascended to the heavens and dwelt in the moon. But because of an injury she had received she was now called Lono-moku. Now, this latter name is, in the New Zealand dialect, Rongo-motu, and here we have both Hina and Rongo as moon-names. At the Paumotu Group Hina is the daughter of Rona. In the South Island of New Zealand Rona appears as a male being. Hina, the water-goddess, and Rongo of the flashing eyes, who dwells on the waters, seem to melt into one; while Rona is, to say the least, closely connected with them.

In White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. 1, p. 163, occur the words "*Ka tu a Kahukura i te rangi, a Rongo-nui-a-tau ano hoki, raua tokorua.*" Apparently these words imply that both were seen on high (presumably in the heavens), so that this Rongo-nui-a-tau may be the Lono who is Hina of Hawaii.

So now we begin to see why the Maori coupled Rongo and Tane together as Rongo-ma-Tane. They are the twins of Maori myth; they are Sin and Ra; they are Isis and Osiris. The dead gods of Accadia and of Egypt survived in the far-flung isles of Polynesia to our own time. And Isis, with the child Horus in her lap, broods over the dead land and lost gods of Egypt, but is represented by Pale Hina in the sunlit isles of the far south.

The stones, plain and unworked, or rudely hewn into grotesque semi-human form, and termed by us "*kumara* gods," were utilized by the Maori as *taumata atua* in their cultivation-grounds. They acted as mediums or abiding-places for the gods under whose care the growing crops had been placed. They were the visible symbol of the protective and fertilizing powers of such gods. In many cases such a stone medium represented Rongo. One such at Waikato, that is known by the name of Rongo, is still preserved by the Wahanui family. These protective and nurturing symbols are sometimes termed *mauri*, a term that will be dealt with later on. Of course "god," as a term for such objects, is a misnomer; "talisman" would be a more suitable word than "god," but we have no word that signifies with precision such peculiar material mediums.

A Bay of Plenty version of the old primal myths shows that, in the dawn of time, when the offspring of Rangi and Papa fell a-quarrelling, Rongo desired that the conduct of affairs be placed in his hands. This proposal his brothers would not agree to, hence war and many other troubles ever afflict mankind. Had Rongo but obtained the direction of affairs, then peace would have prevailed on earth for all time. Man would have confined his energies to peaceful arts; quarrels and war would have been unknown.

An agricultural people such as the Maori looks upon the Earth Mother as their best friend and nurturer, for she provides food for mankind. Also, they view the heavenly bodies, and other natural phenomena, as affecting their welfare, and so such powers were personified and treated as *atua*. The art of agriculture demands at least a special patron deity, and there is, in barbaric culture, a close association between that art and the gods; while *tapu* also enters largely into it. Seeds are planted at the full of the moon, and there is a close connection in many cases between the art of agriculture and the moon, which fact casts an aspect of interest over the Hina-Rongo connection.

Tangaroa.

In Tangaroa we find another important departmental being. In New Zealand he has not the importance that Tane, Tu, and Rongo possess, but he comes next after that trio. Tangaroa in New Zealand is essentially an ocean being; his realm is the ocean. He and Kiwa and Kaukau were the three beings appointed in the dawn of time as guardians for the vast area of Hine-moana, who is the personified form of the ocean. But Tangaroa has here been resolved more particularly into a being representing all fish. He is viewed as the origin and tutelary being of the denizens of the ocean, for fish

originated with his son Tinirau, whose name is composed of two words each of which implies numbers, a multitude. Te Puna-a-Tinirau is a mythical place in the ocean from which all fish emanate. Tinirau was connected in a singular manner with Hina (the personified form of the moon). At Mangaia Tinirau was lord of all fish. He is also known at the Hawaiian Isles, where man claims descent from the youngest of his twelve sons.

In the Maori saying *He wai Tangaroa i haere ai ki uta* (By means of water was Tangaroa enabled to go inland) we have an illustration of the native habit of treating Tangaroa as the personified form of fish. . His full name is Tangaroa-whakamau-tai (Tangaroa the sea, or tide, controller). A South Island myth has it that Tangaroa took Papa, the Earth Mother, to wife, and that Rangi, the Sky Parent, was her second husband. This makes Tangaroa occupy a much more important position than is generally acceded to him in New Zealand. In the North Island he is generally said to have been one of the seventy male offspring of the primal parents, but in some cases we meet with different statements. Wohlers tells us that "Tangaroa is known and worshipped by the whole Polynesian race as the chief god and creator of the world." This statement is not correct, as we now know, but he was so viewed in some groups.

A singular myth is that concerning Tangaroa and Rua. In this story Tangaroa is spoken of as dwelling beneath the ocean with many other water denizens. He captured one Manuhau-turuki, son of Rua, and slew him, then dried the body in some way, and set it up on his house roof as a *tekoteko*, or ornament. Rua went down into the ocean and succeeded in slaying the ocean denizens by means of sunlight, which is fatal to such beings. Another version, an east coast one, speaks of this Tangaroa as having originally belonged to the land, where he dwelt in a house called Hui-te-ananui, on which the body of the son of Rua was placed—a tragedy that was known as the Ahi-tahurangi, or that name was applied to the destruction of Tangaroa's followers by Rua. Rua banished Tangaroa to the ocean; the survivors of the followers of Tangaroa fled to the waters of ocean and land, where, together with the offspring of Te Pu-whakahara, Takaaho, and Hine-moana, they are known as the *aitanga a Tangaroa* (the progeny of Tangaroa). These followers, the progeny of Tangaroa, are represented by all fish, and those of Takaaho are whales and other ocean monsters, while those of Hine-moana are shell-fish and other such products. These progeny, we are gravely told, do not possess any portion of the *ira tangata* (life as possessed by human beings); they remain apart as a different folk. Some of them, the giants and *taniwha* of the deep, such as the Wehenga-kauki, Tutara-kauika, Ruamano, and Arai-te-uru, have their task of assisting distressed mariners and deep-sea voyagers.

This peculiar myth probably contains some hidden meaning unknown to us. The Rua mentioned is one Rua-te-pupuke, one of a number of Rua who are the personified forms of knowledge and its acquisition. The myth of fish having originally dwelt on land finds its counterpart in popular folk-lore, in the story of the great battle between the fish folk and man, which will be told in due time.

The worthy Tangaroa seems to have several other descriptive names, such as Tangaroa-a-timu and Tangaroa-a-mua. The former name apparently connects him with the tide, *timu* denoting ebbing, *tai timu* = ebb tide. Tangaroa-a-mua is unexplained, but Tangaroa-a-tai was a name adopted when he was appointed as one of the *poutiriao* or guardians of the ocean.

Tangaroa-a-roto seems to have been yet another name for our subject, and Ngati-Awa of the Bay of Plenty have a story to the effect that Tangaroa-a-roto was the spouse of Marama (the moon), and begat Hetenui-kaukau-ariki, whatever he may have been. A connection between Tangaroa and the moon runs through these old myths. The same tribe gives Tangaroa-a-kiukiu as the parent of Hine-raumati and Hine-takurua, the Summer Maid and Winter Maid, wives of Ra, the sun.

At the Cook Islands Tangaroa and Rongo are said to have been the twin children of Papa and Vatea, the primal parents. The Rev. Mr Gill tells us that Vatea equals Avatea, and means "noon"; but the Watea of Maori (N.Z.) myth seems rather to personify space. At Mangaia Tangaroa is said to have been really the most important of the twins, but Rongo gained precedence in some way. The Rev. Mr. Gill refers to Tangaroa as the god of day—a peculiar title—and says that his home is in the sky. He believes the cult of Tangaroa, Rongo, and Tane to have been a very old one in the Cook Islands, but that it had been partially obscured by the prominence given to certain deified ancestors. At Mangaia Tangaroa is said to have descended from the heavens by way of the rainbow, and to have here taken to wife one Ina (Hina), and this conjunction we meet with elsewhere. In one old Rarotongan story of Tangaroa the names of Oroio and Roaki are mentioned. These are the Roiho and Roake of Maori myth, two of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, brothers of Tangaroa.

Ta'aroa (Tangaroa) is viewed at Tahiti as having been the great original god, and with him is associated Hina, of whom we have already spoken. Ta'aroa was the creative being, and the most important, but Tane and Oro (or Koro) were important secondary beings. Cook recognized the importance of Tangaroa at Tahiti, but remarks, "Their prayers are more generally addressed to Tane, whom they suppose to take a greater part in the affairs of mankind.

Tangaloa (= Tangaroa) was the principal *atua* of Niue Island, and was there appealed to in connection with war.

At Uea, or Uvea (Wallis Island), Tangaloa is said to have dragged up the land from the depths of the ocean, as he did at Tonga, where he is said to reside in the heavens and to be the originator of thunder and lightning. Tregear shows that Tangaloa was also known at Bowditch Island, of the Union Group.

In the Samoan Group Tangaloa is essentially a creator, an original being who formed the islands, or brought them up from the deep. Here also his wife was Hina. Tangaloa dwelt in space, before earth was; he caused land to appear; he caused man to appear, then the heart, then will, then thought. He then caused spirit, heart, will, and thought to enter man, and so man became intelligent. He caused Immensity and Space to bring forth Po and Ao (Night and Day); they produced the sun. He also caused the nine heavens to be formed, and he, Tangaloa, resided in the ninth heaven, where his place of abode was Fale-'ula (Maori, Whare-kura). Turner remarks of Tangaloa at Samoa, "At one place he was seen in the moon, and principally worshipped in the month of May."

Tangaroa is known at Manihiki, as shown by Tregear, and doubtless at many other isles, the lore of which has not been made known to us.

At the Hawaiian Isles Tangaroa bears but an indifferent reputation. He seems to take the place of Miru, Whiro, and Hine-nui-te-po in the subterranean spirit-world. Perhaps he is best compared to Whiro, inasmuch as he represents evil. At the Marquesas Tanaoa (the *r* dropped in this dialect) is said to have represented darkness; from Darkness sprang Atea, and from Atea (Light) sprang Ono (= Rono = Rongo).

The following passage from Fornander is of interest: "That the Marquesan Tanaoa [Tangaroa] and the Hawaiian Kanaloa [Tangaroa] embody the same original conception of evil I consider pretty evident. With the Marquesans the idea is treated in the abstract. With them Tanaoa [Marquesan dialect drops *r*] is the primary condition of darkness, chaos, confusion, elevated into a divinity battling with Atea, the god of light and order. With the Hawaiians Kanaloa is the same idea in the concrete, a personified spirit of evil, the origin of death, the prince of Po, the Hawaiian chaos, and yet a revolted, disobedient spirit, who was conquered and punished by Kane [Tane]."

In vol. 1 of Fornander's work *The Polynesian Race* is a creation chant of the Marquesas containing many references to Tangaroa.

Tawhiri-matea.

In this being we have what may be termed the head of the wind department, the tutelary being and personified form of winds. In addition, however, to this main personification, there are many others, as we shall see anon.

Tawhiri-matea was one of the seventy offspring of the primal parents, and with him is associated Tawhiri-rangi, another member of that numerous family. Tribal versions of old myths differ to some extent, as we have seen, and this aspect extends to the departmental gods. In the Arawa version, as preserved in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, when the above offspring resolved to separate their parents, Tawhiri-matea was the only one who objected to the act of violence. Then Rongo, Tangaroa, Haumia, and Tu all strove to force the Sky Parent upward, but failed. Then Tane performed the strenuous task. Tawhiri-matea now resolved to attack his brothers and so punish them for their acts of violence toward their parents. Hence the offspring of Tawhiri-matea, the many winds, were begotten, nurtured, and fostered until they became numerous. They were then despatched north, east, south, and west, at which places they were stationed. Then Tawhiri-matea and all the Wind Children furiously assailed Tane (as represented by trees), and Tane was overcome, broken, thrown to earth with broken limbs. They attacked Tangaroa (as represented by fish), and he fled and took refuge in the waters. A few of the children of Tangaroa found a refuge on land; these were Tu-te-wehiwehi (also known as Tu-te-wanawana)—that is to say, the *tuatara* and all species of lizards. These are the *aitanga a Punga*, the repulsive ones—offspring of Punga, son of Tangaroa. Tane sheltered these repulsive ones within his forests, and this led to a feud between Tangaroa and Tane. With net, hook, and spear did Tane slay the offspring of Tangaroa, while the furious Tangaroa destroyed canoes, his floods engulfed land, trees, and houses. So Tangaroa attacked Papa-tuanuku; the waters ate into the land, even that it might be destroyed.

Now, Tawhiri-matea assailed Rongo-ma-tane and Haumia-tikitiki (representing the *kumara* and fern-root, or cultivated and wild food products), and these two were sheltered by the Earth Mother. They took shelter within her, and, when man desires to obtain either, he is compelled to delve into the body of the Earth Mother.

Tu alone was a doughty antagonist; he stood boldly forth, and the contest between Tu and Tangaroa was truly long and severe. In this version Tu is looked upon as the progenitor of man. He made nets and destroyed the progeny of Tangaroa; he formed snares and captured the offspring of Tane (birds); he fashioned implements wherewith he dug up Rongo and Haumia, whom he ate. So dread Tu-mata-whaiti, or Tu-whakaheke-tangata, the destroyer of man, overcame his brethren—all save Tawhiri-matea; he alone remained vigorous and unharmed, as he does to this day. Hence we see Tawhiri-matea still assailing man, as winds, storms, hurricanes, afflict and endeavour to destroy him.

Though Tawhiri-matea is the personified form of winds in general, yet every wind has also its personified form, and there are many names among the Wind Children, as we shall see when we come to deal with secondary myths.

Haumia.

In several tribal versions of the primary myths this Haumia, or Haumia-tikitiki, is given as one of the offspring of the primal parents, though apparently not included among them in Takitumu teachings.

We have seen that Haumia represents the *aruhe*, or edible rhizome of the bracken *Pteris aquilina*, that formed a very important part of the food-supply of the Maori. It was that very importance that caused it to be honoured by a special personification, for Haumia is never said to personify the plant (called *rarauhe*) but only its rhizomes (*aruhe*).

The fireside version of this myth is the story of Haumia taking refuge in the earth, wherein he buried himself, but omitted to conceal his hair, which appeared above ground (in the form of the fronds of the *Pteris*, or bracken). Hence when man came along he saw this hair and so discovered Haumia, whom he promptly dug up, cooked, and ate.

The full name of Haumia is sometimes given as Haumia-tiketike (not *tikitiki*). Haumia is connected with Rongo in all matters concerning peace and the arts of peace. Another such being is Ioio-whenua, who, in a Bay of Plenty version, was one of the offspring of the primal parents.

Whiro.

This being represented darkness and evil, and, in a secondary sense, disease and death. Naturally, he is termed the elder brother of Tane, because darkness is older than light; it was a primordial condition. Whiro was also looked upon as a kind of patron of thieves, because he is ever striving to destroy man and to capture and annihilate his spirit as it passes to the subterranean spirit-world. The undying enmity between Whiro and Tane—that is, between Darkness and Light—has already been explained, and it is the cause of the ceaseless efforts made by Whiro to destroy man, who is the offspring of Tane. We have seen that Whiro was the origin of all disease, of all afflictions of mankind, and that he acts through the Maiki clan, who personify all such afflictions. All diseases were held to be caused by these demons—these malignant beings who dwell within Tai-whetuki, the House of Death, situated in nether gloom. This old belief is, of course, nothing more than demoniac possession, a belief that has continued to our own time, even among what we are pleased to term civilized peoples. This is the belief that retarded for so long a period all progress in medicinal treatment of disease. The Maori treatment of such afflictions was purely empirical; it became a sacerdotal matter, and called for the expulsion of the demon from the body of the afflicted person. Even among the Babylonians and Assyrians medicinal treatment was held to have the effect of driving the disease demon out of the body, and not that of regulating the functions of the bodily organs. Among our Maori folk the lizard was held in terror because it represented, or was the visible form of, Whiro.

It is on account of this old myth concerning Whiro that we occasionally note allusions to his energy in destroying man in old songs, as in the following line: "*I taria koutou ki te tari a Whiro*" ("You were ensnared in the noose of Whiro").

This original Whiro has been confused with one or more genuine ancestors of the same name, as seen in Tregear's *Dictionary*. A famous Polynesian voyager named Whiro is often so confused with the personification we are dealing with. The Whiro-nui who is said to have come to New Zealand in the vessel "Nukutere" was probably a different person to the famous voyager and contemporary of Tura. The same confusion of two or more Whiro is noted in the isles of Polynesia. It is a curious fact that the qualities pertaining to Whiro in New Zealand and certain parts of Polynesia are attributed to Tangaroa at the Hawaiian and Marquesas Groups.

The Rev. Mr. Yate wrote as follows concerning Whiro in his *Account of New Zealand*, published in 1835: "The ideas of the New-Zealanders with respect to Whiro, the evil spirit, are in some respects more in accordance with the Scriptural accounts of Lucifer, the Prince of Darkness. They say he is a liar and the father of lies; that he tempts to murder and cannibalism; urges to adultery; incites to theft, witchcraft, self-destruction, and every description of crime; and that there is no sin but what is put into the heart by him; that he laughs when men weep, rejoices when they are sorrowful, and dances when they are on the way to war; that blood is a feast in which he delights; and that as he feeds upon the souls of men, so he has taught the New-Zealanders to feed upon their bodies. They believe that he is a great spirit, everywhere present, and at all times engaged in mischief; that when men lie down to sleep he hovers round their pillow and makes them dream of evil; when they rise he rises too; when they walk he walks with

them. . . . This is the evil spirit, with whom they believe they have to associate for ever in the Reinga." These remarks are moulded too much on Scriptural models (a common failing among missionaries), but give a good idea of the ubiquitous nature of Whiro. Cannibalism and self-destruction were not viewed as crimes by the Maori.

It has come to pass that the word *whiro* has been introduced into vernacular speech as an adjective meaning "bad, evil." Thus malignant *atua*, or demons, are termed *atua whiro*. The Rev. R. Taylor tells us that Whiro is connected with thunder and lightning, but apparently this lacks corroboration.

At the Cook Islands Whiro, or Whiro-te-tupua, as he is often called, is also associated with darkness, as noted in vol. 25 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 141. Offerings were made to Whiro by our Maori folk; on many occasions a portion of food would be cast aside with the brief remark, "*Ki a koe, E Whiro!*" ("To thee, O Whiro!").

Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, speaks of the personal semi-human nature of the disease spirits (beings that cause disease) so commonly believed in. Such beliefs are very prominent in the Indian Archipelago. This, of course, brings us to demoniac possession, a belief that lingered long among us. Tylor suspected that Whiro was but the Christian devil, borrowed from missionary teaching; but there he was quite wrong. Cruise, in his account of New Zealand published in 1823, tells us that a native stricken by illness is under the influence of an *atua* "who has taken possession of him, and who, in the shape of a lizard, is devouring his intestines."

Ruaumoko.

This member of the seventy brethren was the youngest of them, and is said, in popular myth, to have been still suckling the Earth Mother when she was turned over face down to Rarohenga. Hence he never emerged into the upper world or saw the light of day. He makes war against mankind, in conjunction with Whiro, and ever seeks to destroy them. He represents earthquakes and all volcanic phenomena, and it is by means of these activities that he assails man.

The evil and disastrous powers of *makutu*, or black magic, emanate from Whiro and his horde, the Maiki clan. This is the pernicious branch of knowledge known as the *uruuru tipua*, or *uruuru tawhito*. Ruaumoko and Whiro work together in assailing the offspring of Tane in order to avenge the separation of their parents.

Ruaumoko is also known as Ruaimoko, and Whakaruaumoko, also Ruaimokoroa. Ngati-Awa folk tell us that he is the origin of thunder; that he separates the seasons summer and winter. Earthquakes are caused by his turning over in his subterranean abode; on such occasions, if summer is approaching, he is said to be turning warmth uppermost; in autumn he turns cold uppermost. These are popular tales.

We have seen that Ruaumoko is said to have taken Hine-nui-te-po to wife in the underworld. This is a very curious position, for Ruaumoko is ever a destroyer of man, while Hine is shown, in the higher teaching of Maori myth, to be the protector of the spirits of the dead.

In vol. 11 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 67, we note that a Ruaimokoroa was utilized as a tribal war-god. In certain ritual formulae we see reference to the *po tangotango* and *po whawha* of Ruaumoko—expressions denoting the realm of darkness in which he abides. In an old lament we find the following:—

I a Ruaimoko, e whakangaoko ra i Rarohenga
Ka puta te hu ki taiao; koia a Hine-puia i Hawaiki.

This alludes to the activities of Ruaimoko in the subterranean world, which cause the earthquakes felt in this world, and which are represented by Hine-puia at Hawaiki. This Hine-puia is the personified form of volcanic disturbances, volcanoes. The song from which I quote continues:—

Ka tere Hine-uku, ka tere Hine-one, ka tere Para-whenuamea
Ki a Hine-moana e tu mai ra i Tahora-nui-atea.

This is curiously suggestive of the effects of volcanic disturbance, the flowing of mud and water, the fall of pumiceous sand, to the ocean. Hine-uku personifies clay or mud, Hine-one sand, and Para-whenuamea water; while Hine-moana is the Ocean Maid, and Tahora-nui-atea is her plaza, the vast expanse of open ocean. Para-whenuamea is considered by Mr. S. Percy Smith to be the same as Pele-honuamea of the Hawaiian Isles, who is there the goddess or personified form of volcanic fire. In our Bay of Plenty district the Awa folk state that one Hine-i-tapeka was the origin of subterranean fires, and that she was a sister of Mahuika, who personifies fire of this world.

The name Ruaumoko, or Ruaimokoroa, does not explain itself. *Ru* denotes an earthquake, but the *aumoko* carries no definite meaning known to the writer. *Mokoroa* is of some interest, and might denote a huge reptile. In our local dialect *moko* means a lizard, but there is some evidence to show that, in the western Pacific area, the crocodile was, or is, so called. It is just possible that Ruaimokoroa has been held to be a huge monster of the *taniwha* type dwelling in subterranean depths.

Uru-te-ngangana.

We have already seen that this being was the firstborn of the children of the primal parents, and that he is connected with the heavenly bodies—that is to say, with light. He is one of the three guardians of the heavens and of the heavenly bodies. This name, in less esoteric versions, often appears as "Uru," and "Ngana"—that is, as two names applied to two beings. In one Uru is said to have cohabited with Ngana and to have produced clouds, as personified in Ao-tu and Ao-hore:—

Ka noho Uru, ka noho i a Ngana
Puta mai ki waho ra, ko Te Ao-tu, ko Te Ao-hore.

Uru and Ngana were known to the Moriori folk of the Chatham Islands. Both in that group and in New Zealand these two names appear in cosmogonic genealogies, as though they were remote ancestors of man. Evidently the name, or names, represents some natural phenomenon or primordial condition. It appears as "Nanaulu" at the Hawaiian Isles, in one version; in another as "Ulu" and "Nanaie." Ngana-i-te-tupua, of the Cook Group, may possibly have been a being of later times, a human being. In one of the cosmogonic genealogies given by Shortland, several beings, phases, or phenomena called "Ngana" appear, as Ngana-nui, Ngana-ruru, Ngana-mawake, &c. In another such given in White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. 6, p. 168, both Uru and Ngangana are given. In vol. 1 of White's work, at p. 124, appears a curious incident concerning Uru and Ngangana that has apparently been taken from Wohlers (*Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 7, p. 34). The passage referred to is omitted in Wohler's translation; he does not attempt to render it into English; whereby he displayed much sagacity. The meaning of it is effectually hidden. Uru and Ngangana were sent on high, presumably to the heavens, but did not return. The reference to them being engaged in consuming the fruit of trees is most obscure. Another singular myth concerning Ngangana is given in vol. 7 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, pp. 62–63, wherein Ngangana is shown to have sailed away over the ocean, until "At sunset his canoe was lost to sight."

As a specimen of the peculiar archaic phraseology employed by the priestly experts of former generations when discoursing on sacerdotal matters the following sentence is inserted; it refers to Uru-te-ngangana: *Ka riro i konei te ngangana, te wanawana, te ihiihi o nga mea katoa he ahua tona, he manawa ora ano tona, i nga rangi, i nga ao, i nga whetu, i te marama, i te ra, i te wai, riro katoa i a Io* (At this juncture the *ngangana*, the *wanawana*, and the *ihiihi* of all things possessing form and the breath of life, in the heavens, the realms, the stars, the moon, the sun, the waters—all came under the sway of Io). It is difficult to say what meaning should be applied to the above three words

in this case. *Ihiihi* denotes "rays" in some cases, also it is connected with fear. *Wanawana* bears the same meanings; while *ngangana* means "red" or "gleaming."

Dwelling within the uppermost of the twelve heavens are a few important supernatural beings, of whom the most important are Rehua and Tama-i-waho; others are Aitupawa, Puhaorangi, and Ruatau. These acted as intermediaries between Io and the supernatural offspring of the primal parents, &c. The twain Roiho and Roake were not of this order, but sprang from Rangi and Papa; they are also known to Cook Islands myths.

Rangi himself, the Sky Parent, was viewed as an important *atua*. He was invoked in regard to the despatching of spirits of the dead to the spirit-world, and also matters pertaining to the body of man. He was regarded as a benign deity, as also were Rehua, Ruatau, and other denizens of the heavens.

C.—Atua of the Third Class.

We now come to a class of gods that occupies a kind of intermediate position between the *whanau a Rangi* (offspring of Rangi the Sky Parent) and strictly tribal gods. The departmental gods already described were the most exalted beings known to the ordinary people, and most of those described at length are known far across Polynesia. Our next class contains some that are known throughout New Zealand, and others that may be termed tribal gods. Some, again, are known to several tribes, as those descended from the immigrants of a single vessel, such as the Matatua tribes and the Arawa confederation. It may be said that some of these third-class *atua* are really departmental gods, but they occupy a lower plane than those already given, and they are not really "departmental heads"—they are on the same plane with others of their kind. Again, most of them, if not all, are not confined to one phase of activity, but are connected with war, magic, and other matters; they are utilized as both defensive and offensive agents by their human mediums.

It has been said that *atua* of this class are but deified ancestors; but with that statement the writer cannot agree, and it will be shown in this chapter that some of these beings are assuredly personifications. Another matter to be explained is that we have now come to that class of gods where such beings are represented by *aria*—visible forms, forms of incarnation visible to human eyes. Some are not only utilized as agents in various ways, but are also employed as messengers: such are the *atua toro*. These beings of the third and fourth classes may thus be viewed as agents in regard to many of their activities—active powers whose manifestations may be either natural forces or abnormal influences. There may be said to be two types of agency connected with the gods of barbaric peoples. In the first place, such *atua* as the departmental gods already explained may serve as agents for a Supreme Being who is deemed too holy or mighty to be approached by man. This condition seems to have obtained in Chaldea, where moon and sun served as intermediaries between man and the Supreme Being. Again, the lower gods of the Maori were often employed to act as agents for man—*i.e.*, as protective or destructive agents, and even as messengers to be despatched to acquire information.

Jevons tells in his *Comparative Religion* that "where gods are postulated merely for the sake of punishing transgressions, avoidance of transgressions leaves them void of functions, empty postulates." But the Maori did not confine his gods to this single function; their activities were much more extended, their functions both protective and offensive. Thus, the Maori did not confine himself to the negative attitude in religion in his conception of the powers and functions of his deities. The cult of the lower gods of the Maori was, of course, lacking in refined features; the aspect of such a cultus cannot improve until the moral and intellectual qualities of its followers become elevated to a higher plane. Thus, among such a folk as the Maori, it seems quite possible that,

in pre-European times, three different planes of mentality, and as many religious attitudes, might well exist.

In Brown's work on New Zealand we are told, concerning the gods of the Maori, that "Their *atua* are all evil disposed, and the natives have no good deity." This statement is a rash one, and needs moderating. Such beings are vindictive at times, for they punish those who commit *hara* (breaches of the laws of *tapu*); but they are not evilly disposed at other times, and they protect their followers. The *mana*, or innate power, of an *atua* was what enabled his followers to perform any important task, such as a deep-sea voyage. Indeed, the Maori belief was practically this: that without the protecting power of the gods man could not exist.

We must accept many remarks made by early writers concerning *atua* with grave doubt; many are clearly incorrect. The Rev. R. Taylor renders the proper name Pukuatua as "God's belly," and pronounces it blasphemous — which is absurd. He himself tells us that a native who was troubled with boils spoke of them as his *atua*. The afflicted meant that those unpleasant eruptions were his scourge, as a spirit *atua* is a scourge to those who offend it.

Taylor remarks that the Maori gods were but magnified men, possessing the evil passions of man, with the addition of some supernatural powers. A good deal might be said on this subject, but we must bear in mind how Jehovah was degraded to the level of a tribal war-god by Semitic folk of old, and in the twentieth century was said by Germans to be assisting them in murdering women and children.

Again, Taylor informs us that the Maori regarded his gods as powerful enemies who were to be rendered harmless by the aid of charms and offerings. The latter were certainly placatory, but the charms were uttered in order to enlist the services of such beings, not to render them harmless — at least, in most cases. Yate maintained that all the thoughts of a Maori connected with *atua* were those of fear and dread. This cannot have been the case when we consider the foregoing explanations. This writer did, however, recognize the fact that the Maori did not worship these ordinary *atua*.

It is quite remarkable that the activities of a god have a peculiar relation to his importance. This is very marked in Maori belief; the lower the grade of an *atua* the more active is he. Thus, the Supreme Being is the most aloof of all; the departmental gods are concerned with important matters only; the third-class gods are much more active, and are not confined to one department; while those of the fourth class are the most active and ubiquitous of all. Jevons states that, among lower races, good gods are inactive, while malevolent deities are always active, hence the latter alone survive changes of religion. With the exception of Whiro and his satellites, however, I fail to see that any Maori god was permanently malevolent. Even malignant *atua kahu*, the dread cacodemons, were placated and utilized as war-gods, when their powers were devoted to assisting their followers and placators. Tylor remarks that, among some barbaric folk, the lower orders scruple to worship the great gods, lest through ignorance they should blunder in the complex ritual; they prefer to deal with a lower class of deity. With our Maori folk, the ordinary people knew nothing of the ritual pertaining to the Supreme Being, while that connected with the departmental gods was confined to adepts who passed through a course of training. This left the ordinary person but the third and fourth classes to deal with. To deal with even third-class *atua* called for a considerable amount of special knowledge, thus most of the people had dealings with family spirit gods only. The term *aitu* applied to third-class gods at Samoa, seems to denote in New Zealand a personification of evil, misfortune, calamity, sickness.

Nature gods, such as the departmental gods of the Maori, may become somewhat neglected when *atua* of a lower type are peculiarly active, or believed to be so. Thus there may be a kind of rivalry between the two classes, or a partial mixture of two systems, as we seem to recognize in Chaldean beliefs. Departmental nature gods would

appear to be a natural sequence of the belief in the productive Earth Mother, and then, as a department developed, a belief in inferior beings, godlets, was evolved, all of whom were concerned with some phase of "departmental affairs," and were under the *mana* of the tutelary being.

The feeling of the Maori toward natural phenomena is very marked in his mental attitude toward the stars and planets, which he greets in song and speech as old, old friends. It is also noticeable in his attitude towards water, and thus we have the personified forms of water in Para-whenuamea, Hine-moana, Wainui, Te Ihorangi, and Hine-wai, representing water, the ocean, rain, and fine misty rain. These beings one does not like to term "gods," yet they may be called upon to succour or assist man, as Maui called upon Te Ihorangi to save him from the wrath of Mahuika. Hence we must take these personified forms into consideration when describing the gods of the Maori, the beings to whom he appeals when in distress. It is because of this intermingling of religion and myth that I have not attempted to separate these two subjects, but have headed this paper as dealing with Maori myth and religion. Grant Allen is quite correct in saying that such beings as these personifications are mythological conceptions rather than religious beings. The essential feature of religion, however, is the reliance placed by man on beings more powerful than himself, and we must admit that the Maori did so rely on, and appeal to, these personifications in many cases. Grant Allen would view Tane as being "rather mythological or explanatory than religious," and the Maori himself has some such notion of a difference. When Tutaka gave me the old ritual pertaining to tree-felling he remarked concerning one chant, "This is to Tane." Of the next he said, "This is to the gods." Allen views nature-worship as a high and late development in the history of religion, as derivative, not primitive.

In the first place we will deal with such members of this third class of *atua* as are clearly personified forms of natural phenomena, or rather a selection of such. It would be a vain task to essay a complete numeration of Maori gods of the lower grades, so numerous were they. We will commence with such as were personifications of the rainbow.

Kahukura.—A descriptive name for the rainbow is that of *atua piko*, or "curved *atua*"; but the ordinary vernacular term is *aniwaniwa*, sometimes *aheahea*. The personified forms of the rainbow, however, are known as Kahukura, Uenuku, and Haere, with some minor names. Perhaps Pou-te-aniwaniwa is also a name for such a personification. White gives Tahaereroa as another name for Kahukura, but this name has not been encountered elsewhere.

In Maori myth we are told that Kahukura was a descendant of Pou-te-aniwaniwa. He appears in the heavens in the form of a double bow; the darker-hued upper bow being viewed as a male, and called Kahukura-pango; while the red lower one is a female, and is known as Pou-te-aniwaniwa. It is considered a bad sign if these arched bows appear ill-defined or incomplete, though at such times a correct performance of the proper ritual will avert the evil omen, or nullify it. The task of Kahukura is that of giving weather indications to man, particularly in connection with rain. The Awa folk of the Bay of Plenty assert that the name of the female bow is Tuawhio-rangi. The offspring of the two bows are the whirlwinds, and their parents are Imurangi and Tuhirangi (sundogs and celestial glow). Other names applied to the lower bow are Kahukura-whare and the Atua-wharoro-mai-te-rangi. Kahukura is said to stand with one foot on land and one on the ocean. Another story is to the effect that Kahukura is the offspring of Rongomai and Hine-te-wai (personified forms of meteors and rain); he was also the companion of Rongoiamo. Both parents of Rongomai seem to have been rainbows, or were transformed into such.

Maori mythopoetical traditions tell us that, during the voyage of the vessel "Takitumu" from Tahiti to New Zealand, Kahukura acted as one of the chief guiding signs for that craft. For the rainbow is the *aria*, or visible form of Kahukura, the

spirit god. This spirit god was one of those brought to this new land by the Takitumu immigrants.

In vol. 25 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 85, we find mention made of Kahukura, Tunui-a-te-ika, and Rongomai. Kahukura and Tunui were both called upon by priestly experts to appear, and so render certain peace-making ceremonial effective and durable. Then the rainbow was seen in the heavens, and Tunui the comet appeared.

Kahukura was extensively "employed" as a war-god, as also in other capacities. He was also one of the class of gods termed *atua toro* (supernatural beings, spirit gods) whom their human mediums have the power of despatching on errands. A Ngai-Tahu note seems to show that wooden images of Kahukura and Rongo-a-tau were made. Another note speaks of an east coast ancestor addressing a rainbow with insulting expressions in order to prevent rain falling.

White gives a few paragraphs concerning Kahukura, in which we are told that he is an *atua* who gives warnings connected with life and death, with war, sickness, and the ordinary life of the people; he has the decision of life and death; he acts as guide to travelling parties. Rongo-nui-a-tau is an *atua* occupying a similar status. Kahukura is appealed to as reliever of afflictions caused by *atua ngau tangata*, or man-afflicting demons; he holds the power of banishing such distressing maladies as possession by evil spirits. We are also told that such afflictions cannot be cured by the *kahui tahurangi*, though it is well to placate those beings, lest their eyes turn redly upon us in anger. The offerings made to those beings consisted of herbage and seaweed.

In the South Island Kahukura seems to have been represented by a small wooden image, termed a *tiki wananga* in the narrative.

Uenuku.—In Uenuku we have another rainbow-god, to employ our own glib expression. Uenuku is the personified form of the rainbow, or the rainbow is the visible form of Uenuku, whichever way one chooses to express it. It is possible that some difference exists between rainbows representing Kahukura and Uenuku, in colour or some other particular, but if so we are not aware of it. This *atua* is of a similar status to that occupied by Kahukura; both are widely known. Uenuku is more famous as a war-god than is Kahukura, or, if the two names are applied to the same *atua*, then that of Uenuku is most frequently employed in relation to war. In his monograph on war and modes of fighting, published in 1913, the late Tuta Nihoniho wrote as follows: "O ye Maori youths, should you take part in the wars of the future, be careful lest ye forget your ancestor Uenuku, the god of your forefathers, by whose help they crossed the Great Ocean of Kiwa that lies before us." Little did the old fighter think how soon those youths would be engaged in desperate affrays far away beyond the Hawaiki of his ancestors. This writer explains the meaning of the positions of Uenuku. If seen in front of a marching force, that party must either return home or camp and wait until a favourable omen appears. If the rainbow appears behind the force, in their rear, then such is viewed as a good omen. If it is absolutely necessary for a force to advance against the warning of Uenuku, then it must not pass under his arch, but make a long detour, so as to "get around the rainbow." Again, Tuta explains that Uenuku (that is, the rainbow) is known as Kahukura by day, and as Tu-korako at night. This latter name represents the personified form of some celestial phenomenon — an arch or bow, perhaps a lunar halo.

This rainbow deity is sometimes called Uenuku-rangi, or celestial Uenuku. When Manaia was being pursued by Nuku through Cook Strait a rainbow was seen in front of the former's vessel. Manaia exclaimed, "O friends! That is Nuku pursuing us yonder, for Uenuku-rangi is standing in front of us." Evidently a priestly medium of Uenuku was in the pursuing vessel, and had despatched the *atua* on ahead of the craft of Manaia in order to incommode him.

A curious folk-lore tale tells us that Uenuku was a being of this world in the remote past; that he was visited by the Mist Maiden, who became his wife, and that she left

him and returned to the sky, whereupon Uenuku set off in search of her, and, after seeking her for many years in far lands, he died, and was transferred to the heavens, where we still see him. We shall again meet with Uenuku in the days that lie before.

The following story is a translation of an old myth concerning Uenuku and one Tamatea, a well-known Polynesian explorer of some five hundred years ago who came to these shores in the vessel "Takitumu":—

Uenuku-rangi was a god of Tamatea-nui. Now, at a certain time when Tamatea and his wife Ihu-parapara were together he asked her, "What is the meaning of this change in you?" Ihu-parapara replied, "O sir! I dreamed of being in spirit-land, where I saw you, and we came together."

This sort of thing continued for some time, until, at a certain time, Tamatea went one of his journeys to Whanga-ra. Having gone, the wife remained in Tawhiri-rangi, at Titirangi, engaged in weaving. Looking forth, she saw Tamatea coming across the plaza, and said, "You are back already." No reply was made to this remark, and when the person departed he did so by way of the window-space. As the woman looked out at him departing she saw that, after walking a while on the earth, he gradually left it, and disappeared into the heavens. When Tamatea returned, and was told of these things, they concluded that the visitor was Uenuku-rangi.

Now, Iwi-pupu and Ihu-parapara (both wives of Tamatea) were with child at the same time. Ihu-parapara's child was born a *whakatahe*, though fairly developed; it was a female. Tamatea conveyed it to the *tuahu*, and went to fetch an elder named Koko to perform the proper ceremony over it, after which it would be taken to the *toma* (place where bones of the dead are deposited), which was a cave named Irihia. When Tamatea returned, however, the embryo had disappeared.

Long afterwards Kahungunu was born, and the *tapu* oven of food was prepared so that the *tua* rite might be performed over the infant. While Tamatea-nui, Koko, Rua-wharo, and Te Rongo-patahi were conducting the ritual over Kahungunu at the *tuahu* a young well-grown girl appeared, and entered the house of Tamatea-ariki by way of the window; under which his bed was situated. Ihu-parapara remarked, "Why did you clamber through the window, and trespass on the bed of Tamatea? To whom do you belong?" The girl replied, "I am thine."

"Nonsense! It is false!" Again the child said, "I am truly yours. I was carried by you and Tamatea to the *tuahu*, and there abandoned."

Then thought Ihu-parapara, "Maybe this is my embryo." She then asked, "Who came and took you away from the *tuahu?*" The child replied, "My father, Uenuku-rangi." "And whither were you taken?" "To Tuahiwi of Hine-moana afar; to the multitude of the Petipeti, of Waihekura, of Waihengana, of Waihematua, at the *au tinitini*, at the *au tata* of Mawhera afar."

Then Ihu-parapara called to Tamatea-nui, "O sir! Come hither. Here is my girl who was immature, sitting in the house."

He went; she was sitting on the bed of Tamatea-nui. He asked, "To whom do you belong?" "I am of Uenuku-rangi; Tamatea-ariki-nui and Ihu-parapara left me at the *tuahu;* Uenuku-rangi conveyed me to the great ridge of Hine-moana, to the multitude of the Petipeti, of Waihekura, of Waihengana, of Waihematua, at the *au tinitini*, at the *au tata* of Mawhera afar."

Tamatea-nui took her hand and led her to the *tuahu*, where the *pure* rite was performed over her; then to the water, where, by means of the *tohi* rite, she was named Uenuku-titi. It was now that Uenuku-rangi became identified with the *tuahu*, and the *tapu* food prepared for the naming function over Kahungunu was eaten by Uenuku-titi.

You now clearly understand that this was one line of supernatural descent to this world; another was through Rongokako (father of Tamatea), who was descended from Maui and others; that you know. A line of descent comes from Uru-te-ngangana to Tamatea, another from Roiho to Tamatea; all these were supernatural lines of descent of his. Tamatea-ariki-nui was an important person, a very high chief was that man by reason of aristocratic prestige, *tapu*, human prestige, and supernatural prestige; all these powerful influences were represented in him. (See Addenda VIII.)

Haere.—According to the Tuhoe Tribe there are three rainbow-gods named Haere, their names in full being Haere-a-tautu, Haere-waewae, and Haere-kohiko. As in the case of Uenuku, these three *atua* appear to have dwelt on earth at some remote period, and to have been transferred to the heavens after some remarkable adventures here, of which more anon. These three brothers who now appear in the form of rainbows are recognized by their different aspects as to colour and form. But little has been collected about these *atua*, and we have no data to show whether or not they were invoked, or utilized as Uenuku was.

Tunui-a-te-ika. — We now enter another department of nature, and must deal with the phenomena of comets, of which Tunui-a-te-ika is one of the personified forms. These

personifications of natural phenomena are viewed as *atua*, or supernatural beings, by the Maori. They are believed to possess extraordinary powers, and so they are placated, and also influenced by the recital of ritual formulae, in order that they may become complacent and attend to the desires of the supplicants. Tunui is a being who was much "employed" (a peculiar expression to use, but it meets the case) by the tribes of the east coast and Bay of Plenty districts. Tunui had many human mediums throughout these two districts. As in the case of other gods, his powers imparted *mana* (efficiency, potency) to ceremonial rites. Tunui, Maru, and Tuhinapo are all *atua* who were much utilized as guardians of *tapu* places, and of the old-time fortified villages. The first and last of these three were the guardian spirits of Te Whetu-kairangi, a very old *pa*, or fortified village, on the ridge at Seatoun, Wellington. When such a place was constructed, a stone was buried at the base of one of the main posts of the stockade. That stone served as a *mauri*, or shrine — that is, as an abiding-place for the spirit gods under whose protection the village was placed by means of a very singular *tapu* ceremony. Tunui was the guardian of Wharekohu, a specially *tapu* cave on Kapiti Island wherein were placed the bones of the dead of high-class families of long-gone generations.

Tunui, Ruamano, and Hine-korako are said to have been *atua* who were peculiarly tractable and amenable to applications for assistance. Tunui is sometimes termed a flying star by natives. Te Po-tuatini, another *atua*, is apparently also a personification of comets; he occupies much the same plane as does Tunui. Both are included among the beings known as *kikokiko*, or malevolent spirits, who are all *atua* of the third or fourth classes. Tunui was also an *atua toro;* his *kaupapa*, or human mediums, held the power of despatching him on errands. Thus we are told that on one occasion the Wairoa natives sent Tunui to Te Teko, in the Bay of Plenty, in order to slay a chief named Hatua. An old native of that place said to the writer, "We saw Tunui coming towards us through space." Always the appearance of a comet was viewed as an evil potent, and on one appearing it would be asked "Who has died?" Tunui was also utilized as a war-god on the east coast, as also was Te Po-tuatini, and both are said to have been effective ones.

Wahieroa and Taketake-hikuroa are also names used to denote a comet, used as proper names. As observed, the appearance of a comet was viewed as an ominous occurrence, but different omens were derived from it according to its position, as in regard to direction in which the tail extended. Meto is yet another name for a comet.

Atua *connected with Lightning.*—The Bay of Plenty natives believe in a lightning-god called Tupai. He it is who occasionally slays man during a thunderstorm. Better known personified forms of lightning are Hine-te-uira, the Lightning Maid, and Tama-te-uira. The former was one of the offspring of Tane, as also was Hine-kapua, the Cloud Maid, while Tama-te-uira was born of the Earth Mother. One Mataaho personifies distant lightning. Tawhaki, who is given in genealogies as a human ancestor, is evidently connected with lightning, while Whaitiri and Wahieroa, of the same category, are clearly personified forms of thunder and comets. The natives of the Chatham Islands say that Tawhaki is the *atua* of thunder and lightning, and in former times they appealed to him during a thunderstorm.

There are many personified forms of thunder, and when these beings are heard rumbling, the *matatuhi*, or seers, listen attentively and explain the omens derived from the reports. Perhaps Aputahi-a-paoa is the best-known of these personified forms of thunder. Aitupawa is another *atua*, apparently of this class, of whom we know little, though he is also known at Samoa.

Maru is one of the most important beings of this third class of *atua*, and is widely known. On the west coast of the North Island Maru was very prominent, perhaps more so than in any other district. The gods Maru, Te Ihinga-o-te-rangi, Kahukura, and Rongomai are said to have been brought hither from Polynesia in the vessel named

"Aotea." In the *Maori History of the Taranaki Coast* we find the following: "He was the principal god of Taranaki. . . . This god was brought over by Turi in 'Aotea' as a spirit, not an image, and the priests on board were those of Mâru. He was an evil (strict or jealous) god, who was very particular as to the behaviour of his worshippers. . . . He was their god of war, to whom *karakia* (invocations) were addressed and offerings made. When Titoko-waru abandoned Christianity he called up Maru to be his god."

We are also told that offerings of food products were made to Maru, both cultivated and wild vegetable products, also fish, birds, and dogs, after which that being would communicate with the human medium, the *tohunga*, or priest. In some cases a material medium, a small wooden image, was also employed, but still the human medium was a necessary feature of the cult. Mr. Hammond mentions a stone image of Maru that existed at Patea.

My worthy old friend Kereoma Tuwhawhakia, of Whanganui, contributed a few notes concerning Maru. He is an *atua* both good and evil. For instance, if a crop shows signs of failing, Maru will save it and cause it to flourish, if placated and invoked in manner orthodox. Again, should a person infringe the law of *tapu*, Maru will save him from death, if properly approached. Otherwise he would, of course, perish; even Kahukura, and other such beings could not save him. Should Maru prove implacable at first, then a dog is slain as an offering, and cooked. The head of the dog would be placed at the *tuahu* (place of offerings), and this offering would please Maru, who would then listen to any appeal made to him. On the other hand, Maru is importunate in his ceaseless desire for offerings of food. If his share is withheld, as at meal-times, he is angered and becomes dangerous, even to the extent of slaying persons for such omission. Only by placatory offerings and appropriate ritual can a person be saved at such a juncture. Among other offerings made to Maru were the heads of all fish caught in sea or river.

The Rev. R. Taylor gives ten different names of Maru in his work *Te Ika a Maui*. He remarks: "These names were descriptive of his various evil qualities; his going to and fro as an adversary, chattering defiance, looking down malignantly, causing disease, flaming with wrath, full of anger and bitterness—there can scarcely be a more perfect description of the evil spirit. . . . This deity, being constantly engaged in evil, had no time to grow food, and was indignant if he were not liberally supplied, and with the best, by his votaries."

This idea of a spirit god employing himself in growing food-supplies is surely a novel one. The author's statement that Maru is a purely evil being represents a form of error often made by missionaries and others. I fail to see how we can view a being who succours his followers from distress, averts impending misfortunes, saves them from death, when properly placated and invoked, as a purely evil deity. Rangipito, of Taranaki, compared Maru to Jehovah, and in some parts of the Old Testament the latter does not appear to stand on a much higher plane than does Maru of the Maori.

The name of an *atua* called Maru-tahanui appears in the legend of Manaia, and it is quite probable that the name of Maru was brought from Polynesia, as stated in Aotea tradition. Maru, Kahukura, Uenuku, and Rongomai are names that are mentioned in an old myth of long-past times, wherein they are said to have quarrelled and separated. It will be noted that these are all names of celestial phenomena, for the visible form of Maru is some celestial glow; Williams suggests "zodiacal light." Omens were derived from the aspect of this peculiar glow. White remarks that the home of Maru is in the heavens. Taylor states that he is represented by the planet Mars, but this has received no corroboration.

At Niue, Malu is the name of a deity; at Mangareva, Mamaru is a similar name. Tregear notes that, at the Marquesas, one Ma'u-te-anuanua is mentioned in the deluge legend. As the letter *r* has been dropped in that dialect, the name resolves itself into Maru, and *anuanua* means the rainbow.

Another *atua* of somewhat wide fame, but whose standing is doubtful, is Rakaiora, whose form of incarnation, at least on the east coast, is the lizard. We have gained, however, but little information concerning this being.

With this third class of gods we are now dealing with ends the tale of such as occupied superior positions in Maori eyes, such as are mentioned in recitals of the lore of the Kauwae-runga (the Upper Jaw), the *tapu* lore pertaining to the heavens and its gods. When we come to the fourth-class *atua* we shall be dealing with beings of a lower status, who pertain to the earth and the lore of the Kauwae-raro (Lower Jaw). These two figurative expressions are applied to and denote celestial and terrestrial matters —that is, myths and legendary lore pertaining to the two realms.

Atua of the Ruamano and Arai-te-uru type, who are largely concerned with the protection and saving of human life, are looked upon as benignant beings. We shall encounter a number of beings of this class when we come to deal with personifications. The two mentioned are concerned with the guidance and protection of seafarers, and are appealed to by mariners in distress. They are sometimes referred to as *taniwha*.

A number of other *atua*, such as Ihungaru, Puhi, &c., about whom we know little, it is not easy to classify, but apparently they pertain to the fourth class.

The *atua* named Tu-korako is the same as Hine-korako, who is the personified form of some lunar phenomenon, apparently—perhaps a halo—and probably also of a bright-coloured bow occasionally seen over a waterfall.

The *atua* known as Rongomai seems to be the personified form of meteors. Another, one Tamarau by name, also appears as a meteor, but belongs to the fourth class, while Rongomai is of the third class, and is widely known. The Rev. R. Taylor tells us, in a native account of certain intertribal fighting at Otaki, that during the siege of the Pakakutu *pa* (fortified village), Rongomai was appealed to for assistance by Puta, a Taupo priest. That dread being was then seen flying through space, a fiery apparition. He descended within the *pa*, a loud report was heard, and the earth was torn up and scattered. Presumably this was an aerolite; and, needless to say, the place fell, for its defenders would be unnerved by such an occurrence. A place at or near Owhiro, Wellington, was known as Te Hapua-o-Rongomai because that being descended to earth there in past times.

In vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 41, will be found another mention of this god: "When Tuwharetoa reached Tokaanu they sent on their *atua* Rongomai. It was the *tohunga* (priestly expert) Pahau who sent on the *atua*. He went in full view of the whole of Tuwharetoa towards the Ponanga. . . . When over Roto-a-Ira it burst with a terrific crash, and did not return. If it had returned it would have been a bad omen for Tuwharetoa." The translator adds a note: "Rongomai was a tribal god of Ngati-Tuwharetoa, and he appeared to them as a shooting star." We may, I think, assume that a *tohunga* such as the above would not neglect to utilize and make the most of such an occurrence. That grade of priestly adept certainly indulged in shamanistic performances. Taylor tells us that he was once preaching to natives, and took as his text the words "Behold, I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven." During the discourse a splendid meteor was seen, whereupon all the natives cried "There is Satan falling from heaven!"

Colonel Gudgeon informs us that Rongomai was viewed as a beneficent deity by east coast tribes, and that Kahukura was of a different type, being of a malicious nature. In vol. 5 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 119, is an indistinct version of an old myth concerning one Rongomai who was transferred to the moon. This may or may not be the same being. Rongo of the primal offspring seems to be connected with the moon, hence Rongomai and Rongo-maraeroa may be connected, or possibly both names denote a single concept.

In the legend of Ngatoro-i-rangi and Manaia, Kuiwai sent the gods Rongomai, Aitupawa, and Kahukura to conduct Hauangaroa to Ngatoro-i-rangi. This meant a voyage from eastern Polynesia to New Zealand.

In the legend of Whiro, brought by the ancestors of the Maori from the isles of Polynesia, the name of Rongomai appears, as also does that of Rongomai-tu-waho. It is not made clear as to whether these two names apply to one being or not. Rongomai-tu-waho was one of the offspring of the primal parents.

One Tahu is the tutelary being of all food-supplies, but it is unknown as to whether he was placated or invoked in any way. An old saying is this: *Kei takahia a Tahu* (Lest Tahu be disregarded). When asked to stay and partake of a meal, one may decline it, then the one who proffered the invitation will quote the above saying. It may possibly imply some retributive ill luck if the offer is disregarded. Shortland gives Tahu as one of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, but the name is not found in other lists of those children. Shortland remarks that Tahu is the *atua* presiding over peace and feasts; if so, he must come second to Rongo.

Te Po-tuatini was a prominent third-class *atua* among east coast tribes, but we have no detailed account of him. Ihungaru is another unknown quantity. Taylor tells us that, at Rotorua, he was represented by a lock of human hair intertwined with a strip of paper-mulberry (*aute*) bark, and that this was preserved in a house. By "house" he probably means one of the diminutive box-like places built in the form of a dwelling-hut, elevated on a supporting-post, and used as a receptacle for small *tapu* objects. In the north they were called *pouwaka*. These were in use up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Rongo-takawhiu is the name of an *atua* possessed of great destructive powers, hence he was much favoured in time of war. His activities do not appear to have been those of an ordinary war-god, but he represented the destructive power that gave effect to certain magic charms. In order to stay the advance of an enemy along a certain path a shamanistic expert would draw a line across such path with a stick, and repeat over it a certain charm possessing destructive or weakening powers. Any enemy stepping over that mark would not necessarily perish, but he would be so weakened and unnerved that his power for harm would be nullified. The potent effect of the charm would render him harmless, and Rongo-takawhiu represents the active power or *mana* that rendered the charm effective. Possibly this Rongo-takawhiu should be placed in the fourth class of *atua*. The information concerning him was obtained from the Tuhoe and Ngati-Awa Tribes of the Bay of Plenty district.

D.—Atua of the Fourth Class.

We now come to the lowest class of native gods, so called, such as were represented and utilized by the lower class *tohunga*, or priestly mediums. Some of them were merely what may be called family gods, and in such cases the medium was either a male or female member of such family. The Maori folk provided themselves with many godlets, as these inferior beings are termed by Phillips in his book entitled *The Works of Man*. In some cases these godlets had but a brief lease of life, perhaps only a generation, when they passed away into the unknown. We have an idea that gods never die, but the Maori, and Winwood Reade know better. A native witness in one of our Land Courts happened to remark of a certain god of former times, "That *atua* is dead." "But," protested the Court, "a god cannot die." The native was ready with his reply: "Gods can and do die, when there are no priestly mediums to keep them alive." And so Te Awanui and Te Rehu-o-Tainui, with many another *atua* of low degree, passed from human ken.

The lower grade malignant *atua* of Maori belief, cacodemons and spirits of the dead, resemble somewhat closely the evil spirits, devils, or demons the belief in which has been

so common even in Christianity and Mohammedanism. Thus, possession by evil spirits is a belief that has been world-wide until recent times, from New Zealand right across the wide world to Ireland. People of the lower culture stages have ever believed that all sickness and disease are caused by malignant powers, and in many cases that such evil spirits actually enter and abide in the body of the afflicted person. In common with other races, the Maori firmly believed in this demoniacal possession. He not only personified disease and sickness generally, and so spoke of being afflicted by Whiro, Maiki-nui, Maiki-roa, &c., but also believed that, when ill, some *atua* had taken possession of his body. Such man-afflicting beings belonged to the class we are now dealing with, and were known as *atua whiro* (evil *atua*) and *atua ngau tangata* (man-assailing demons); the latter term being also applied to war-gods.

The causes of such demoniacal possession as causes illness may be stated as (1) black magic, (2) the violation of some law of *tapu* by the sufferer. Such a *hara* (offence) would be punished by the gods in the above manner. These curious beliefs are met with in the Bible, and the Jews seem to have relied more on the priest than physicians in cases of illness. The curing of disease by the laying-on of hands was essentially an Asiatic belief. When a Maori was afflicted by an *atua*, his one chance for relief from his sufferings was to apply to a *tohunga* (priestly adept or shaman). The first action taken by the latter was to find out the cause of the patient's illness, what wrong act he had committed and for which the gods were punishing him. His next task was to perform certain ritual in order to exorcise the demon. Thus the medicinal art had no chance to find favour among the Maori folk; the doctor was represented by the priest, whose empirical activities consisted of charms recited over the hapless patient. Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, gives a considerable amount of data concerning these beliefs, including illustrations from New Zealand and Polynesia. The casting-out of devils was in former times an important part of the duties of a priest, even in Christian lands, and apparently this ceremony has never been officially discarded by the Roman Catholic Church, all of which goes to show how barbaric beliefs and ceremonies were preserved in Christianity. Taylor tells us in *Te Ika a Maui* of a little book that he bought in France, and which contained "spiritual remedies"—special prayers to cure various diseases.

These malignant spirits were numerous in Maori belief, and were ever disposed to attack man, hence the Maori considered himself always in danger of attack from them. In some cases persons suffering from a prolonged or intermittent illness were recommended to move to another district for a time. This was not with a view to gaining a "change of air," but was intended to foil the evil influence of the local demons; thus it was a case of "change of *atua*." The sufferer left behind the local beings who had been plaguing him. This novel method of befooling demons is called *whakahehe*, a word meaning "to foil, confuse, confound, perplex." In his work on Animism Clodd writes as follows: "Among the delusions which have wrought havoc on mankind, making life one long nightmare, and adding to mental anguish, the infliction of death in horrible form upon a multitude whose vast total can never be known, there is probably none comparable, for its bitter fruits, with this belief in the activity of evil spirits."

Atua Kahu.

The malignant type of low-grade fourth-class *atua* known as *atua kahu* may be termed demons. They are the malignant spirits of still-born children, as denoted by the word *kahu*. Such spirits are extremely harmful to man, and delight in plaguing him, afflicting him with disease, and so forth. Such an object as a still-born child, or foetus, should be buried by an expert, one who knows how to render it harmless, otherwise no end of mischief may result. If no ceremony be performed in order to lay the spirit, then it may enter some animal, as a dog, pig, bird, fish, or insect. Having so gained an abiding-place in an animal body, it would soon develop into a man-assailing demon (*atua ngau*

tangata). A bird merely flying over such a foetus would probably be utilized by such a spirit as a basis for itself. In the Tuhoe district such an object was, in one case, buried without any ceremonial under the perch-stand of a tame parrot (*kaka*), hence its spirit took up its abode in the bird and worked much harm to man. That bird was the cause of many evils that afflicted the village folk. Various ills that flesh is heir to were caused by it—that is, by the malignant spirit inhabiting it. Omens were also derived from the bird, according to its appearance, as to the recovery or otherwise of a sick person. When these malignant *atua kahu* afflicted man they had to be exorcised by an adept.

Dr. Shortland has written as follows in his *Maori Religion and Mythology:* "Intimately connected with the superstition respecting things *tapu* is the belief as to the cause of disease—namely, that a spirit has taken possession of the body of the sufferer. The belief is that any neglect of the law of *tapu*, either wilful or accidental, or even brought about by the act of another person, causes the anger of the *atua* of the family, who punishes the offender by sending some infant spirit to feed on a part of his body—infant spirits being generally selected for this office on account of their love of mischief, and because, not having lived long enough on earth to form attachments to their living relatives, they are less likely to show them mercy."

The punishment of a person for having transgressed some rule of *tapu* was by no means confined to *atua kahu*, or to the spirits of children who had died young. In vol 26 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 87, is an account of a mummy of a human embryo in the Cairo Museum, and "some one, to appease the malice of this born-dead thing, had covered its face with a coating of gold, for, according to the belief of the Egyptians, these little abortions became the evil genii of their families if proper honour was not paid to them."

These beliefs as to the cause of disease and sickness most effectually prevented any researches in medicinal treatment, and so we found the Maori utterly ignorant of medical science, relying entirely upon superstitious practices and magic formulae in cases of sickness.

In order to illustrate the origin, development, and activities of an *atua kahu*, we here insert an account of one such known by the name of Te Rehu-o-Tainui, whose fame for a generation was great among the Tuhoe Tribe. After that period this particular godlet seems to have "died," as so many other gods have in the days that lie behind. This is probably the only account of such a development that has been recorded in connection with our Maori folk.

Some five generations ago a woman of the Tama-kai-moana clan of Tuhoe, who lived on the upper waters of the Tauranga River, was delivered of a premature birth, which, on account of some malformation, was called Hope-motu. It was the spirit of this unsightly embryo that developed into the successful and formidable war-god Te Rehu-o-Tainui—that dread being who laid the *tapu* on Lake Rere-whakaitu, who smote the Arawa and Whakatohea, and left but the drifting waters at Taupo-moana.

When this embryo was buried it was enveloped in leaves in which some of the small fresh-water fish called *titarakura* had been cooked, and hence, when the spirit of the embryo achieved fame that species of fish became *tapu*, and could no longer be eaten by the people. The *aria*, or visible form of the spirit of the embryo, its form of incarnation, in which it was visible to human eyes, was that of a green lizard (*moko kakariki*). The superstitious dread the Maori feels for this reptile imparted additional *mana* to the spirit god, and endowed it with additional power to destroy human life—a truly desirable quality in a war-god.

One Uhia, a resident of Maunga-pohatu, on hearing of the new *atua* Hope-motu, conceived the idea of becoming the *kauwaka*, or human medium, of the new godlet. He resolved to placate it by means of a propitiatory offering, and this offering of *tapu* food, called an *amonga*, consisted of several birds of the species called *porete* (a parrakeet). Thus it was that Uhia became the medium, instigator, and mouthpiece of the new *atua*, which

he named Te Rehu-o-Tainui. This *atua mo te riri*, or war-god, became the most famous inferior god among the Tuhoe Tribe and their principal war-god. In such cases the tutelary being Tu still retained his *mana* (power and influence), but Te Rehu was consulted in all cases bearing on divination and the activities of war-parties. So successful were the prophecies or oracles delivered by Te Rehu in regard to proposed raids, as given through Uhia the medium, that the hill-bred bushmen had the greatest confidence in both *atua* and medium. This fact, combined with the courage and hardihood of these mountaineers, enabled the Tuhoe folk to make successful forays into surrounding districts. In the exaggerated language of the Maori, the name of Te Rehu-o-Tainui struck against the heavens, while the setting sun followed him in wonder to the Sea of Taupo.

The lizard that was the *aria*, or form of incarnation, of Te Rehu was sometimes shown by Uhia to the people. It would be seen lying on his hand, and occasionally putting its tongue out; this was looked upon as being a favourable omen. At other times, we are told, it would conceal itself in a *hangi* (steam oven), a peculiar place to be favoured by the representative of an *atua*. The intense heat of the oven would not injure the creature in any way, but the circumstance of it being found there was deemed an evil omen. It is said that some ignorant folk looked upon the lizard as being itself the spirit god Te Rehu-o-Tainui, but others knew that it was merely the visible representation of that being; the true spirit god is invisible. It was through this lizard medium that Uhia placated and invoked Te Rehu whenever he desired to utilize the services of that being. He also had to be careful to carry out the behests of Te Rehu in a proper manner, otherwise that worthy would be offended, and would not only refrain from assisting the projects of the tribe, but would also inflict upon it punishment for the offence.

The first manifestations of the power of this new godlet were of a strange nature. It caused Uhia the medium to ascend a tall tree and throw himself to the ground therefrom. He was not injured by the fall in any way, being preserved from harm by the powers of his *atua*. On a later occasion Uhia was instigated by Te Rehu to perform another marvellous feat. He cast himself into a river and passed under water for a long distance, finally emerging with two of the small fish previously mentioned suspended from his ears. Such were the tokens of his powers given by Te Rehu. During these weird and unusual performances Uhia is said to have been in a strange mental condition, like a deranged person, and quite oblivious of ordinary mundane affairs. When Uhia recovered from his peculiar condition he found himself possessed, as it were, by the spirit of Te Rehu, and an accredited medium of that being. He now recognized the fact that Te Rehu was an *atua* of great powers, and one worthy of service. He then, with due performance of the proper ritual, set aside and prepared a certain spot to serve as a *tuahu*, or sacred place, whereat to perform rites connected with Te Rehu. This place was situated at the spot where he had emerged from the waters of the Tauranga River.

These data concerning Te Rehu-o-Tainui were obtained from natives of the Tuhoe Tribe, who stoutly maintain their truth; and who am I that I should deny it?

The rest of the history of Te Rehu consists of an account of the various fights that were conducted under his direction, and of the various oracular utterances delivered per medium of Uhia. The latter, in times of stress, now became the most important person in the tribe, and all hostilities were conducted under his personal direction. He performed all divinatory rites connected with warfare, and accompanied the armed warriors on the warpath; he planned all forays and attacks, and directed all engagements. After the return of a war-party from an expedition the *ruahine* ceremonial was performed. This lifted the *tapu* that had been placed on the warriors when they came under the sway of Tu and Te Rehu at the time that the expedition left the home village. This was viewed as an extremely important ceremony, one that could not be neglected. It would be highly dangerous for the members of a war expedition to go to their homes unless the

tapu of the *atua* had been lifted from them. Until that rite was performed all members were under the influence of the *atua*, and any infringement of the rules of *tapu* while in that condition would entail most serious consequences. There are many acts that may be performed without danger under ordinary conditions that are disastrous when the performer thereof is under stringent *tapu*.

There is much more to be said concerning Te Rehu-o-Tainui and Uhia the priestly medium—their activities in many a wild foray and Homeric combat, the strange prophecies and stranger conditions uttered and imposed by Te Rehu. Many of these will be explained when we come to deal with the art of *matakite*, or divination. Uhia led many successful raids against neighbouring tribes, but after his death other mediums were less successful, or less fortunate, so the power of that war-god waned. Then came the introduction of Christianity, with its new gods, and Te Rehu-o-Tainui passed away from human ken, as did many another *atua maori* of the days of yore. They are as dead as are Osiris and Isis.

The last *atua kahu* that I have any knowledge of was one named Te Awanui. This godlet, or demon, was the spirit of a child still-born to a woman named Maraea, the mother of Te Pouwhare, now (1919) living at Ruatoki. Maraea herself acted as the medium of Te Awanui, and in that capacity she organized the fight of her people against Ngati-Manawa at Te Tapiri in the "sixties" of last century. Members of the Tuhoe Tribe who were engaged in that fighting informed me that she stood out fearlessly in front of her tribesmen during the fray, and caught the bullets fired by the enemy in her hands! Truly is faith a fine thing!

Atua Toro.

Any spirit god, or familiar spirit, that is employed by its human medium as a messenger or exploring agent for any purpose is termed an *atua toro*, from *toro* = to reconnoitre, explore, discover, visit, &c. Thus, an *atua* might be despatched as an active agent in black magic, or to convey or seek information. When the Arawa were about to attack Te Tumu, some eighty-odd years ago, one Te Kahawai despatched his familiar spirit, known as Te Weka, to reconnoitre the place. The *atua* returned promptly to its medium, and this in itself was viewed as a good omen. When Tamatea visited Taupo, he heard that Ngatoro-i-rangi was approaching the place, and so despatched the *atua* called Tunui-o-te-ika to act as a guide to him. Ere long Tunui was seen gleaming above the hill Pihanga, hence it was known that Ngatoro had arrived there. We have noted elsewhere that the visible form of Tunui is a comet. Again, we are told that, during certain hostilities at Taupo, Pahau, a medium of the *atua* Rongomai, who appears as a meteor or fireball, despatched that being in the direction of an approaching enemy force. The demon was seen by all rushing through space, and it burst at the place where the enemy was at the time. This was accepted as a good omen for the despatchers, and an evil one for the approaching invaders. It is not made clear as to whether the act of so despatching Rongomai was done as an act of divination, or for some other purpose. Doubtless the truth in all such cases is that, whenever such unusual phenomena were seen, some cunning warlock or medium would at once claim that he was responsible for the display, and take every advantage of it. We shall see in the legend of Ngatoro and Manaia that the *atua* Rongomai, Tama-i-waho, Tunui-o-te-ika, Kahukura, Tama-te-uira, Aitupawa, and Turongo-rau were all utilized as *atua toro* by Ngatoro. As we have seen, Tunui is represented by a comet, Kahukura by the rainbow, and Aitupawa by thunder.

Atua *as Guardians of Tapu Places, &c.*

In former times *atua* of the third and fourth classes were widely employed by the Maori as guardians of such *tapu* spots as burial-places. Thus the famous cave called Wharekohu, on Kapiti Island, wherein bones of the dead were deposited for centuries,

was under the guardianship of Tunui-o-te-ika. In some cases a lizard was placed in charge of some spot or object the sanctity or privacy of which it was advisable to protect. Thus I know of cases in which lizards were placed as guardians of the so-called burial-caves, and in one instance as guardian of a highly-prized tree much frequented by game birds, and on which they were snared. In such cases the lizard that represents Whiro (the personified form of disease and death) would certainly be an excellent deterrent to would-be trespassers, and doubtless, in some cases at least, the lizard was the *aria*, or form of incarnation, of an *atua*, as in the cases of Te Hukita and Te Rehu-o-Tainui. *Atua* were also utilized as guardian beings of a village, as in the case of the Te Whetu-kairangi, an old-time fortified village on Seatoun Heights, Wellington, which was placed under the protecting power of Tuhinapo and Tunui-o-te-ika. Maru was another *atua* employed for such purposes.

Spiritual Guardians of Man.

There is another aspect to be considered in regard to the useful activities of *atua* of the lower grades. They served as watchful guardians over the lives and welfare of their human mediums, and hence were often the means of preserving a clan or tribe from disaster. Such, at least, was Maori belief, and it is Maori beliefs we are describing. Improbabilities and impossibilities cannot be recognized when regarding the beliefs of barbaric man. It was the duty of an *atua* to carefully watch over its human mediums, to warn them of approaching dangers, to utter oracular prophecies concerning future events, and in all ways to preserve and forward their welfare. This desirable condition would be maintained so long as such mediums were careful to act in a discreet and proper manner in regard to the placation of such a spirit by means of offerings, and a rigid respect for the rules of *tapu*. It was very easy to offend an *atua*, and so cause it to punish the offender, or at least to withdraw its protection, which would amount to much the same thing. For instance, any mistake made by a priestly medium in the recital of ritual matter, charms, invocations, or incantatory formulae would assuredly be followed by unpleasant consequences. Again, should such a medium infringe a rule of *tapu*, his own *atua* would desert him and withdraw its help and protection until the cause of offence had been removed. The favour of the *atua* could be regained only by judicious placation and correct behaviour. Any person so abandoned by his familiar spirit was assuredly in parlous plight, for he was left defenceless against the dangers of black magic and all the evil influences that ever surround hapless man and are ready to assail him. Physical qualities alone cannot enable a man to survive these innumerable dangers; supernatural help is ever necessary to enable him to retain life; truly has it been said that, without the gods, no man may live. Yet it has been shown that man is ever being pestered by malicious *atua* seeking to harm him. Quite so; but those hostile spirits are the familiars of other persons, or are free lances: an *atua* always helps, protects, and succours its own medium or mediums, so long as the latter do not offend them.

An *atua* has many ways of warning its mediums of threatening dangers. Any supposed danger, or ominous occurrence, or object seen in a dream is a manifestation of the power and care of one's familiar spirit. Anything that warns one of danger has been prompted, as it were, by one's guardian, though it be but the cry of a bird, the fall of a tree, a landslip, or the peal of thunder. I well remember old Pio, of Te Teko, telling me of a visit that he made to Waikare-moana. When crossing the lake in a canoe he noted a certain star, that represented his guardian *atua*, in a certain position. On reaching his destination he warned the people of danger, saying that they would probably be attacked by enemies shortly. As a matter of fact they were so attacked the next morning, much, apparently, to Pio's satisfaction, who ever after lauded the powers of his familiar.

Such protecting powers are believed to be ever hovering about their mediums in time of danger in order to preserve them from harm. A good illustration of this belief is given at p. 174 of vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. A man and his son visited a village of a neighbouring tribe in the Bay of Plenty, and, when leaving the place in order to return home, the father beheld his familiar hovering about him. This puzzled him, but he knew that some danger was nigh. After they reached home the father was taken ill, and it was found that he had been bewitched by one of the people of the village they had visited.

It will be observed that only these lower-class *atua*, such as ancestral spirits, acted as familiar attendants of man. The departmental gods never did so—they held themselves aloof; while those of the third class, such as Kahukahu, Rongomai, &c., though visible to man through their *aria*, yet did not act as close attendants on their human mediums. We recognize the fact that the familiar spirits of the Maori, usually termed "family gods," were either ancestral spirits or those of children of living parents; but it is not safe to apply such a statement to the *atua* of any class above the fourth. We have seen that many of those of the third class were personifications of natural phenomena. The statement has been made that all *atua maori*, or native deities, were ancestral spirits, but no more misleading remark is on record. The fourth class of *atua* was largely composed of the household gods. The cult of these fourth-class beings was simply a form of family worship, if the word "worship" be admissible, and this represented the lowest type of religious practice among these natives. These family *atua* did not develop into higher forms; they never acquired, however famous within the tribal area, the status of third-class gods.

Ancestor-worship among out Maori folk is thus seen to occupy the lowest grade; and yet few things are more persistent, for we still perceive it in somewhat changed form in Christianity. It has been said that the Roman Catholic Church does not apotheosize, though its canonization of the dead has its roots in ancestor-worship. Whatever the Church may or may not do, its members practically worship those so-called saints, as I myself have seen, and their saint-worship is ancestor-worship. These deified ancestors are inferior deities of Christianity, a cultus that is spoken of as a monotheistic system. They are looked upon as being active in human affairs; they are reverenced and prayed to by the people; in fact, they are *atua maori* of the fourth class.

Enough has been said to show that so-called ancestor-worship as practised by the Maori did not include what we call worship; it was simply a matter of placating ancestral spirits, and of utilizing their services. Such spirits were known as *koromatua*, a term that appears in the Tahitian dialect as *orometua*. This cultus was one of the most matter-of-fact and practical that could be evolved, and must be viewed as a very inferior exhibition of the religious sentiment. Herein we encounter some fear of powers supernatural, but none of the reverence and awe displayed in the cult of Io. The mental conditions illustrated in these two phases of religion are totally different—indeed, they seem to be opposed to each other. The two could not appeal to any one human mind; gross shamanism dominated by fear could not find a place in the mind that appreciated the precepts and ritual pertaining to Io. In the higher belief, as appreciated by the few, fear of punishment had small place, and such mild precepts could have been evolved and appreciated only by superior minds that had risen above the plane of shamanism. The fear of ghosts pertains essentially to the childhood of the race, as it also does to the childhood of the individual, although it may survive in a somewhat weakened form among more advanced conceptions in later times. When it survives in higher forms of culture its grosser aspects tend to disappear.

Lord Avebury remarks that the worship of ancestors has, in Polynesia, tended to replace that of earlier deities. Such a statement calls for careful consideration ere it is accepted. It is well to remember that, among barbaric folk, the lower forms or phases

The following is a translation of a native account of the gods brought from eastern Polynesia to New Zealand by the crew of "Takitumu," a vessel that reached these shores about five hundred years ago. The original narrative will be found in the Addenda, No. IX :—

The gods fetched from Te Kohurau, which is a cave, by Te Rongo-patahi, were Kahukura, Rongomai, Tunui-o-te-ika, Tama-i-waho, Ruamano, Hine-korako, and Tuhinapo. When Te Rongo-patahi, Ruawharo, Tupai, and Kohupara, who were priests of the *tuahu* and *ahurewa*, went to obtain them, prior to their going, the "Takitumu" canoe had been hauled so that her stern rested on the latrine of Titirangi, the village of Tamatea at Whangara. The reason why that was done was so that Kahukura would embark on "Takitumu."

Seven vessels were taken as abiding-places for the gods, and those vessels were wooden ones, hewn inside and outside. They were made in two pieces, which, when hewn into form, were put together and so lashed, the joining being dressed with vegetable gum. When finished they were painted on the outside only with red ochre, and the lid was inserted. The appearance of the vessel, and of the peculiar lashing of that kind of god's vessel employed, when coming to the land area at Aotea-roa was as shown in the diagram. These vessels were closed up at night ; on bright days they were opened so that the gods might emerge on to the stages, of which there were seven.

The persons permanently appointed to look after those gods were Te Rongo-patahi, Ruawharo, Tupai, Kohupara, Kaewa, Puhi-whanake, Mokinokino, and Whatuira ; these were all. Those priests occupied the stern thwart of "Takitumu," on account of the gods, also because of Kohupara and Tupai, younger brother of Ruawharo, who were adepts at steering sea-going vessels. Their knowledge of that work was from the time of Tawhitiroa, and these were the reasons why the stern thwart was allotted to them ; in fact, they occupied two thwarts, the two below those of Tamatea-ariki.

Kaewa was the bearer of the *tapu* firesticks, the lower stick (*kaunoti*) and the *hika* or rubbing-stick pertaining to it. That *kaunoti* and *hika* were named after the star Puaroa, because that star is one of the principal ones and also *tapu*, a star that has a misty or smoky appearance called *au pukohu* and *hiku makohu rangi ;* hence they were named after that star, because of the smoke proceeding from the firestick. (Puaroa is probably a comet.)

As to Puhi-whanake and Whatuira, these persons were observers of the stars of the heavens in order to foretell bad weather and fine weather ; also observers of the moon and sun, so that the prow of the vessel might be held steadfastly on the region of the land objective. Such was the task of those two persons ; they remained awake all night and slept in the daytime ; such were their actions.

Kohupara and Tupai looked after the gods, lest some of them should escape. They closed the openings of the vessels in which the gods abode, and opened them in daytime, besides certain times when it was considered desirable to let them move about outside ; they alone had the arrangement of such matters.

Mokinokino was a food-bearer and conserver of food-supplies for all the priests mentioned by me ; these were the priests to be supplied by him at all times when "Takitumu" was sailing the ocean. The storage place for food-supplies was in the bow of the vessel.

Te Rongo-patahi and Ruawharo were the priests who despatched the gods to perform any task desired of one or more of them. Now, such were the positions assigned to them in regard to all their gods.

The *atua* brought hither by the Aotea immigrants were Maru, Kahukura, Rongomai, and Te Ihinga-o-te-rangi, the first three of whom are widely known in these Islands, and of whom we have given some description. In the case of the vessel known as "Kura-haupo," we learn from tradition that Mahutonga was the priestly expert on board, and that the *atua* in his charge were Maru, Tunui-o-te-ika, and Ruamano.

TAHA RAKAU.

[*To face p. 136.*

Aria of Atua; Forms of Incarnation.

This is decidedly an interesting subject, inasmuch as it illustrates the universal desire of man for some visible representation or smybol of a god, some material object that will save him the trouble of having to exercise his powers of abstract thought. Here it must be explained that the Maori often employs two or more distinct terms, each having its special and restricted signification, where we use but one. Thus we speak of the human medium of an invisible spirit god, and the term "medium" might also be applied to the material object that represents such a being. The Maori, however, employs two distinct terms to denote the two media. The human medium referred to is called a *waka*, or *kaupapa*, but the animal or other object that is the visible form of an *atua* is known as its *aria*. These two terms are never confused. These *aria*, or forms of incarnation, if they may be so styled, are usually material entities, such as animals—*i.e.*, dogs, birds, lizards, and insects—also stars. In some cases they are immaterial phenomena, as lightning, rainbows, and comets. Certain kinds of stone, notably nephrite (*pounamu*) were believed to possess strange powers and to have had a strange origin. They were viewed, however, more as *atua*—that is, as having something supernatural pertaining to them—than as *aria*.

These *aria*, be it clearly understood, are visible media or agents of invisible beings. The *atua* they represent cannot be seen by man. The only persons who can see spirits, such as spirits of the dead, are the *matakite*, or seers. Another matter that calls for explanation is that a certain object may be looked upon as being a kind of medium of an *atua*, as endowed with a certain quantum of *mana atua*, and so be used in divination rites, but yet is not the *aria* of such god. For instance, a certain highly valued weapon, a prized heirloom, was believed to possess a considerable amount of *mana* from the *atua* called Uenuku—in fact, to be a form of medium of that being; hence it was employed in certain divinatory rites connected with war. This did not, however, make it the *aria* of Uenuku, which, as we have seen, is the rainbow. Prolonged inquiry alone enables one to understand all these subtle distinctions met with in studying Maori customs of past centuries.

The lizard was a favoured form of *aria* in former times. We have seen that it was the form of incarnation of the *atua kahu* known as Te Rehu-o-Tainui. Among the same tribe (Tuhoe) one Tamarau (apparently a deified ancestor) was also represented by a lizard, as also was Te Hukita, of which the late chief Kereru-te-Pukenui was the human medium.*

The *aria* of Tama-i-waho is a star; that of Te Ihi-o-te-ra is a *whe* (mantis); that of Te Iho-o-te-rangi, a lock of hair; that of Te Rewha-o-te-rangi, a star; those of Pare-houhou and Te Pu-tapu are gourds; that of Kaka, a lizard; that of Reko, an owl. Others were seen in the form of natural phenomena, as already shown in the foregoing pages. Dieffenbach made a shrewd remark when, in speaking of these *aria*, he wrote: "Not to these earthly forms of the *atua*, however, but to the spirit itself, prayers are addressed." In this sentence the word "prayers" is the only misleading term employed, as will be shown anon.

It is of some interest to note that these *aria* seem to pertain only to *atua* of the third and fourth classes. We hear nothing of any such media of the departmental gods: thus Tu, who emblemizes war as its tutelary being, has, apparently, no form of incarnation; yet the inferior war-gods (*atua tu parekura*) have such, as we have seen in the cases of Maru, Kahukura, Uenuku, Rongomai, Te Rehu-o-Tainui, &c. We shall see that this lack of *aria* in the case of beings of the second class was compensated for by the use of certain wooden images.

We thus see that the *aria* of a supernatural being is the form in which it is seen by mortal eyes, but that form is not the real *atua*, which is an invisible spirit. Also,

* See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 11, p. 30.

such a medium may be a material body, such as a bird, fish, insect, lizard, &c., or it may be an intangible but visible phenomenon such as a rainbow or comet. The term *aria* is also sometimes employed in other ways, as shown in the following illustrations. In the old myth of the contest between Maui and Hine-nui-te-po—that is, between Light and Darkness, Life and Death—the emissary of the latter was despatched in order to obtain a drop of Maui's blood to serve as a medium (*ohonga*) for spells of black magic. That drop of blood is sometimes styled the *aria* of Maui, though in other versions it is called the *ahua* of Maui. This latter term denotes the semblance or invisible form of any object, but is also applied to a material thing—as the *ahua* of a battle may be a lock of hair from the head of one of the slain enemies. Here again, this latter *ahua* is often called a *mawe* or *maawe*. Again, the *aria* of Wheterau, an old-time chief of Ngati-Ha, who was slain at Waikare, is a stone; that stone is the visible form that represents a human body long since returned to Mother Earth. Such a material symbol as this is called the *kohiwitanga* of the person it represents.

In Maori traditions we note a curious mixture of historical and mythical matter. Thus, the well-known ancestor Taneatua, of the Tuhoe Tribe, is said in popular story to have had some strange offspring. Two of them, Ohora and Kanihi, seem to have been of a supernatural nature, and their *aria* are two streams bearing their names, the same being tributaries of the Whakatane River. Another was Okiwa, whose *aria* is a dog, that may yet be heard howling in the gloomy forest-clad defiles of that river. The local valley wind experienced at Ruatoki, and called "the Okiwa," is the breath of that weird dog. When travelling down the river with a native some twenty years ago the writer camped for the night near these various *aria*. In the dead of night we heard a dog barking on the forest range above, and the native was firmly convinced that it was the spook dog Okiwa. The next of these uncanny creatures was Tamoe-hau, whose *aria* is a tree. Next came Rongo-te-mauriuri, whose *aria* is a pond on the summit of the Maunga-pohatu Range. The next was Takuahi-te-ka, whose *aria* is a rock in the Whakatane River, the same being a place where the curious ceremony called *uruuru whenua* was performed in former times. The balance of the offspring of our worthy Taneatua seem to have been ordinary human beings.

In the old legend of Hape the Wanderer—another story that has become encrusted with myth—we find that his son Tamarau, when he found the body of his parent, took a lock of his hair as the *aria* of his *wairua*, or spirit—that is, as a material token or symbol of the immortal life-principle of man. He also bore away with him one of the foot-bones of his father as the *ariatanga* of his *manea*. This *manea* will be dealt with later on. The addition of the suffix *tanga* to the term *aria* is not a common usage, being a gerundial form attached to verbs, whereas *aria* is usually employed as a noun. Another interesting illustration is connected with a peculiar ceremony styled *tira ora*, in which a stick or wand was inserted in a small artificial mound of earth to represent the *aria* of life, health, and welfare generally, physical, mental, and spiritual. A similar object in another such mound represented or symbolized evil, misfortune, wrongdoing, and death. Herein we have the *aria* of qualities and conditions, a concept calling for the exercise of abstract thought. Again, a certain *tapu* tree at Whakatane was a famed local *mauri*, or talisman, and was held to be the *aria* of all welfare among the Matatua folk.

We hear also of the *aria* of personifications, the same being the thing or conditions personified. Thus, mist and fog are the *aria* of Hine-pukohu-rangi, the Mist Maid, and light misty rain is that of her sister Hine-wai. Among the Ngati-Whare clan of Te Whaiti the cormorant is viewed as the *aria* of one Hine-ruarangi, an ancestress who became a *tipua*, or supernatural being, after her death. This seems to have been a case of metempsychosis, and other such cases are known in Maori folk-lore. The *aria* of a district called Ruatahuna is a hill bearing the same name—that is to say, the district derived its name from that hill.

Among the Arawa folk I have heard the unusual form *arika* replacing *aria*. Thus, a native of that tribe remarked to me, "*Ko Makawe he atua patu tangata, ko te matakokiri tona arikatanga*" ("Makawe was a man-destroying demon; the meteor is his *arikatanga*"). Here again we have the use of the suffix before noted.

Colenso's definition of this term falls far short of the full extent of its ramifications. In *Williams's Maori Dictionary* we find a much wider range of meanings, though it may be doubted if sufficient stress has been laid on its application to qualities and other abstractions.

This dissertation on the term *aria* and its varied applications will probably be deemed tedious, but is the result of a long-continued inquiry among my native friends, and that result is here recorded in the hope that it may be of some use to others in the future.

PART V.

OFFERINGS, HUMAN SACRIFICE, AND IMAGES.

CONTENTS.

How the Gods were influenced. Placatory offerings. Food offerings. Blood offerings. *Ari*, the bloodless offering of the racial homeland. Dogs sacrificed to gods. Offerings waved toward gods. Firstfruits offerings. Offerings by travellers to local spirits. Offerings at mortuary memorial. Offerings to dead. Human sacrifice. Cannibalism. Sacrifice for a new house. Human sacrifice in Polynesia, &c. Human sacrifice for a new canoe. For a new fortified village. Mortuary sacrifice. Sacrifices connected with war; with agriculture, &c. Sacrifice of relatives. Development of religion. Images. The Maori no idolater. House-carvings do not represent gods. Certain small images represent gods. Such images used as temporary shrines only. How the indwelling spirit god was consulted. Bones of dead used for a similar purpose. Stone images represent gods of agriculture. Rongo so represented. Anthropomorphic gods a necessity. Maori religion a loose system.

Offerings to Atua.

THE two direct methods employed by the Maori when desirous of influencing gods in his favour, or when about to seek their assistance, were (1) offerings of food or other things, and (2) placation by other means, such as the recital of ritual formulae supposed to possess powers of influencing spiritual beings. Such offerings are termed *amonga*, *raupanga*, *tiri*, *koropa*, *whakahere*, and *whakaepa*. The last two words are also employed as verbs, meaning "to conciliate or placate by means of a present." Such offerings were frequently made by the human mediums of *atua*, though, as already explained, no offerings were made to the supreme being Io; the practice was confined to *atua* of the second, third, and fourth classes. The custom ranged from important ceremonial offerings to the more important beings, such as Tu, and these included human sacrifice, down to small offerings of food made to fourth-class *atua*, familiar spirits. As an illustration of the latter aspect I have known an old native to set aside a small portion of each meal he took for his particular *atua*. Other branches of the race appear to have practised a similar custom. For instance, in his account of the Tahitians Captain Cook says, "Many of them are so rigidly scrupulous that they will not begin a meal without first laying aside a morsel for the *atua*."

The attitude of the more primitive peoples in conciliating malignant beings only seems quite a justifiable one, inasmuch as it would be obviously unnecessary to make sacrifices or offerings to a benignant deity. In this connection we can trace both aspects in Christianity and the old-time cult from which it sprang, or is an offshoot. Observe the numerous sacrifices pertaining to Judaism. In the Old Testament we read of human sacrifices, and others of certain animals being made to a wrathful and jealous deity. In Christianity these savage horrors were done away with, and we merely find survivals, such as the Communion; though, strange to say, we still retain the idea of a wrathful Supreme Being.

F. B. Jevons, in his little work on *Comparative Religion*, shows that in the earlier stages of sacrificial offerings the sacrifice was left entirely for the god, and that in a later stage of development those making such sacrifice partook of it.

All offerings to gods were *tapu*, and such as were made by the people, as cultivated and wild food products, fish, &c., were conveyed in many cases by the priest to the *tuahu*. Apart, however, from these, the people made private offerings, usually of food, to what may be termed their family gods. The act of making an offering to a god is described by the verb *whangai*, meaning "to feed," or "to offer to be eaten." A human sacrifice was *ika tapu*, and perhaps *koungauma*; while *hupainga* seems to have been used in a more

general sense for an offering. The modern expression *patunga tapu* was of missionary origin, not an old Maori usage.

Offerings to gods were made in connection with many things—with war, cultivation, sickness, witchcraft, fishing, fowling, and many other pursuits and conditions. There are few things in this world, or the unseen world, concerning which offerings were not made by priests to the gods, save and except the fact that no offerings of any nature were made to *the* God—that is, to the Supreme Being. Such offerings were made to the gods who dwell with Tama-i-waho in the heavens, and to those who abide in the underworld with Hine-nui-te-po. These offerings were of a placatory and conciliating nature, to gain the goodwill of the gods. Those made to departmental gods were composed of the products under the influence of such beings. Thus, offerings of birds were made to Tane, of fish to Tangaroa, of *kumara* to Rongo, of fern-root to Haumia, of slain men to Tu, while to Tawhiri-matea were made offerings of such birds as are active at night.

A Ngai-Tahu note in Mr. White's unpublished matter is to the effect that offerings of the blood of human beings and of dogs were made to gods by South Island natives, but we have no such information regarding such a custom in the North Island. A small quantity of the blood was placed in a diminutive cup formed by a leaf, and so conveyed by the *tohunga* to the place where the ceremony was to be performed—that is, to the *tuahu*. Here he dipped his forefinger into the blood and then pointed that finger at the image or medium of the god, after which he again dipped his finger in the blood and pointed it towards the heavens. After a third dip he pointed the finger downwards, the last two movements representing offerings to the gods of the heavens and of the underworld.

The sacrifice of a dog would be made in ceremonies when it was not convenient to supply a human victim, as in those preceding a fight.

In some very old traditions it is noted that certain "bloodless" foods were selected as offerings to gods on account of their bloodless condition. As certain vegetable foods seem to be included—if, indeed, they were not all so—the term "bloodless" would seem to indicate a dry nature, a lack of moisture or sap in such food-supplies. We are told that in remote times the ancestors of the Maori lived in a land called Irihia, situated far away in the west—a hot-climate land, so warm that it was given the secondary name of Irirangi, on account of the heat of the sun. Remote ancestors of the Maori had migrated from a great land named Uru, lying to the westward, to the land of Irihia, for two reasons. The first of these reasons was war; the second was the fact that Irihia produced the *kai toto kore* (bloodless food) called *ari*. This seems to have been the principal food product of the land of Irihia; but there were also other "bloodless" foods, known as *kata*, *porokakata*, *tahuwaero*, and *koropiri*. All of these, including the *ari*, which seems to have been the most important of these products, were utilized as sacred offerings to the gods on account of their "bloodless" nature. (*Enei kai e waiho ana hei kai whakaepa ki nga atua, hei kai ma nga ariki; he kai kaore ona toto tahi, na reira ka waiho hei kai whakaepa ki nga atua.*)

As to what these food products were it is impossible to say, but it is made clear that the *ari* was a vegetable food "grown in the hot land of Irihia." *Ari* is the Dravidian word for rice.

The following passage, taken from Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*, is incorrect and misleading: "Dr. Codrington notes that the large mouths and lolling tongues of many New Zealand and Polynesian gods are due to the habit of smearing the mouth with blood and other offerings." Many writers and lecturers have fallen into the error of supposing that house-carvings and similar figures represented gods.

Mr. White tells us that the offering of a *matata* bird to the gods was made in war, and that the blood only of that small creature was so offered, the bird itself being placed at the *wahi tapu*. It would appear, however, that blood offerings were by no means universal among the Maori, and may have been confined to a few tribes.

In Maori belief the gods consumed or appropriated merely the semblance or essence of all food offerings. Such offerings made at a *tuahu* were often placed on a small framework of sticks, called a *tiepa*.

In the legend of Manaia and Nuku is described an incident in which Manaia kills a bird and uses it as an offering to his *atua*, one Maru-tahanui.

Mr. White has a Ngai-Tahu note to the effect that, when a dog was slain as an offering to an *atua*, the person officiating cut open the carcase with an implement called a *maripi tuatini*, took out the heart, and set it before a fire on a stick to roast. Such a fire was first rendered *tapu* by means of the recital of certain ritual. While the priestly expert was intoning the necessary ritual before this fire, the onlookers stood and pointed their hands at it, joining in the responses. This ceremony was performed when an *atua* was required to assist in some important operation, such as war. In this case the officiating expert is said to have eaten the roasted heart himself, after its dedication to the god; and this eating of offerings by priests is mentioned by other native authorities. It is, however, certain that this eating of offerings by priests was not a universal custom; offerings of fish, &c., deposited at a *tuahu* simply lay there until they decayed. In other cases an offering of food was placed on a tree, or simply thrown aside, and so left. When so casting an offering aside a person would say, "Thy food, O ——" (mentioning the name of the *atua* to whom it was offered, as in "*To kai, E Whiro*"). In many cases the person officiating took the offering in his hand and waved it toward the gods—that is, with outstretched arm he waved it outward toward space; hence the expression *ka poia ki nga atua* employed in a description of this act. The Rev. R. Taylor remarks in his *Te Ika a Maui*, "When an offering was made it was held up by the *tohunga* [priest] above his head, whilst he uttered his *karakia* [ritual] and waved it about."

At Mangareva, in eastern Polynesia, priests acted in a similar manner in performing ceremonies, holding a portion of food in the outstretched hand. Offerings to the gods were made at certain stone erections called *marae*, one of which was named Anga-o-Tane. In Price's description of Judaism we read: "A characteristic feature of Pentecost was the offering of two loaves of leavened bread made from the new wheat, which were waved before God and afterwards eaten by the priests."

When a person went fishing he might cast aside the first fish caught as an offering to the gods. The first eel caught by a lad, and the first bird snared by him, were devoted to a similar purpose. In this case the offering was made by the village priest, not by the lad himself; certain ritual being recited during the ceremony. Tunui-a-rangi, of Wai-rarapa, states that, after such fish or bird was so offered, it might be eaten by the lad; but it is doubtful if this was a universal custom. All firstfruits offerings were deposited at the *tapu* place styled a *tuahu*. One authority states that when the *kumara* (sweet potato) crop was about to be lifted a few tubers were taken up and cooked. One of these was "waved" to the gods by the priest, who himself ate the balance of them. Such details, however, often differed among the different tribes. Also, after the above ceremonial performance, two other ovens of tubers were cooked for the leading chiefs and the body of the people respectively. After this ceremonial lifting of the *tapu* the crop might be taken up. Similar performances marked the firstfruits function connected with uncultivated food products, birds, and fish, also with the first fish taken in a new net. Firstfruits of fish were offered to Tangaroa, those of birds to Tane (both of whom are tutelary beings), just as the body of the first enemy slain in a fight was dedicated to Tu.

The Rev. R. Taylor describes the ceremony pertaining to the first catch of rats made in a season, when five different ovens were used. In the first was cooked one lone rat, as an offering to the gods; in the second were two, for the principal priestly expert; the third contained ten, for the assistant priests, apparently; the fourth a considerable number, for the trappers; and the fifth a large number, for the bulk of the people. The offering to the *atua* had, however, to be made ere the other ovens were opened.

Mr. White describes a peculiar custom not recorded in any work on the Maori, though he does not say which tribe practised it. It is as follows: Should an expert in *tapu* historical and sacerdotal lore consent to impart such knowledge to a member of another tribe, then he claimed for himself and his descendants certain privileges. Each year the relatives of the scholar presented to the expert, or his family, a certain quantity of the firstfruits and *kai popoa* of their home. No explanation is given as to how long this tribute was payable, and indeed we have no corroboration of this communication; still, it may have been a local custom. The *kai popoa* referred to is a term applied to any *tapu* articles of food employed in the sacerdotal rites pertaining to many subjects—birth, baptism, illness, death, house-building, canoe-making, &c.

Polack, a sojourner in the northern parts of the North Island in early days, speaks of travelling parties making an offering of food to the local genius of any place they might camp at prior to partaking of such food themselves: "A portion is reserved in a small basket for the dryad of the place, which is hung on the branch of a tree. . . . Similar precautions to propitiate the said *atua* are taken in the morning; oftentimes he is obliged to rest satisfied with a lock of hair, which is elevated in like manner." This lock of hair was an offering frequently made in former times, and, apparently, was held to be most efficacious. Fishermen overtaken by a storm at sea, or the crew of a capsized vessel, would pluck a hair from their heads and cast it into the sea, at the same time repeating certain ritual utterances, a form of charm. Any person supposing himself to be in danger from a monster of the mythical *taniwha* type, on land or sea, would act in a similar manner.

Shortland speaks of food being offered by the Maori to stone images, but does not explain what those images were. The only ones we have any knowledge of were those used as fertilizing agents in cultivation-grounds. Offerings were made by travellers to the *genius loci* at certain trees or rocks known as *urururu whenua*. Such offerings were merely branchlets, a handful of herbage, or stones, deposited at the base of the tree or rock, the act being accompanied by the recital of a charm. This act was a placation of the local *atua* (demons or spirits), and if neglected, then some trouble, such as bad weather, would ensue.

Offerings of a curious nature were also made at certain mortuary memorials, and at places where a sick person of rank had rested when being conveyed to his home on a litter. At these latter places a carved post was sometimes set up, such as Te Pou-o-te-Puehu, at Ruatahuna, and on such a post travellers would hang a garment, or a fragment of one. In late times coloured handkerchiefs and bright-coloured strips of cloth were used for this purpose. Other singular observances of a similar nature will be described elsewhere.

The terms *hapainga* and *hapainga tapu* are applied to these offerings to *atua*, and to human sacrifice, but they are probably modern expressions, like *patunga tapu*. *Ngakoa* is another word denoting such offerings. Of course, the Maori ever believed that any spirit being was perfectly aware of any offering made to it, no matter how slight the ceremony might be, or how remote the spot at which it was performed.

Offerings to the dead are on much the same plane as offerings to *atua*, or spirit beings. When a person of any social standing died, not only were his own personal effects, weapons, garments, and ornaments arranged on or near him, but also condoling visitors brought similar objects as gifts to the dead. These were known as *kopaki tupapaku*, and were often buried with the body. The name applied to them may be rendered as "corpse-wrappings." Persons often placed articles in the grave of a relative, and this custom has survived the introduction of Christianity. Thus, I knew a case in which a woman placed in the grave of her child niece a prized old necklace of sea-shells known as *hangaroa*. In another case a father placed a silver crown piece in the grave of his infant child, and changed the name of a surviving sister of the child to Karauna (Crown).

An old native friend of the writer, on the death of his father, deposited in the grave a manuscript volume of old tribal lore, collected and written out with much care, and hence a prized possession. Many instances might be quoted as illustrations of this custom among natives. It is also of interest to note how this custom has survived to the present day among European nations—one of the most persistent survivals being the depositing of flowers on graves

Human Sacrifice.

Under this heading come what may be deemed the most important of all offerings to the gods of the Maori, although the subject is one that calls for careful inquiry in the matter of different functions. It appears that human beings were slain at such functions for different purposes. In some cases they were slain for purposes of divination, in others as direct offerings to the gods, and in yet others merely to add *éclat* to the function, which means adding to the prestige of the more prominent persons connected with such affairs. In any case, human sacrifice was never a common occurrence among the Maori folk; it was merely an occasional occurrence. There is also another point to be stressed—viz., that the killing of a slave in order to provide a much approved of meal for guests, or for a chieftain and his people, might easily be mistaken for a case of human sacrifice by careless observers, or those not acquainted with the native language and customs. For ever we must bear in mind that the Maori folk were habitual and shameless cannibals; that the eating of human flesh not only excited no repugnance in their minds, but that it was viewed as a genuine and desirable custom. Divers writers have told us that the feeling of revenge alone prompted this abominable act, but this view is quite erroneous. The Maori ate human flesh because he liked it, as many an old-timer has told me. The killing of a slave for food purposes was not an act prompted by any desire for revenge.

When a human sacrifice was required in a Maori community there were several sources from which such might be obtained. All tribes, save broken clans in a condition of vassalage, would possess a number of slaves, members of other tribes captured in war. These were often utilized for the purpose, as also were members of the vassal tribes alluded to. In some cases a party would be despatched in order to capture or slay a member of a neighbouring tribe. Occasionally a member of another clan of the same tribe would be surprised and slain for the purpose; these last two modes of obtaining a human offering often, of course, leading to retaliation. Another form, and this was of the rarest occurrence, was represented by the sacrifice of a member of the same clan; we hear of rare cases in which a man has so sacrificed his own son in order to obtain the assistance of the gods in some desperate crisis. The offering to the gods of the heart of the first man slain in battle is of a somewhat different nature, but in this case a desperate rush was sometimes made by one or more persons, as the two parties approached each other, in order to secure an enemy as a "first fish." This captive would be at once slain, his heart torn out and offered to the war-god. This act had a remarkable effect on the fighting-men, for they believed that the offering would not only ensure a victory for themselves, but would also cause the enemy to become weak-kneed and irresolute in the fray.

According to Tuta Nihoniho, of the Ngati-Porou Tribe, human sacrifices were made for five different purposes, as follows:—

(1.) For a new house. When the *kawa* ceremony was performed over a new house, a person might be slain as a placatory offering to the gods, to ensure prosperity and peace to the folk to whom such house belonged. Any such ceremonial man-slaying was done with a view to secure the favour of the gods.

(2.) For a new canoe. The object of this slaying of a man when the *kawa* was performed over a new canoe was similar to that of No. 1 viz., a placatory offering to gain the protection and assistance of such gods. Such protection would imply good luck for

the vessel at sea, as also the assistance of *taniwha* and other denizens of the ocean in any crisis, such as a storm, or the capsizing of the vessel. Such human sacrifices, and the attendant ceremonies, pertained only to the better and more important types of houses and canoes, the superior framed house (*whare whakanoho*), and the *waka taua*, or war-canoe, and not to inferior huts and fishing-canoes. Neither was such a sacrifice made in all cases to supplement the *kawa* rite; on the contrary, it was often omitted.

(3.) For the tattooing of a woman of rank. In some cases a human sacrifice was made on the occasion of the tattooing of a young woman of good family, and such sacrifice was described as a *toro ngarehu*. In this case the idea was to impart prestige to the function, to enhance the status of the young woman.

(4.) For a funeral feast. In this case the sacrifice had a similar purport to that of case No. 3 above, and the hapless victim was described as a *puru waha*. The use of this term shows that the victim was cooked and eaten. The Tuhoe expression is *putu kai*, and a variant form is *tami waha*.

(5.) For the purpose of avenging a death. When a person had lost a relative, slain not in fair combat but in some treacherous manner, his aim would be to seek an equivalent as soon as possible. To effect this he might slay a person of the same clan as the offender, but who was in no way connected with the outrage. Such an act was deemed quite desirable and correct; it removed a stigma from the injured party, and put an end to all jeers or reproaches levelled at him for not avenging his kinsman's death. Such an act of diverted justice was described as *he whakaao-maramatanga kia ea te mate*, or a public settling of the account. The victim of this strange act of justice was called a *koangaumu*, a word that seems to have denoted a sacrifice or slain offering, as in the *koangaumu waka*, or human sacrifice for a new canoe.

In the above list of cases of human sacrifice, as given by a native, it seems clear that a considerable difference obtained in regard to motive and objective. In cases (1) and (2) the object was to placate gods: this was undoubtedly ceremonial or ritual human sacrifice. But in cases (3) and (4) no mention is made of such an object; the purport of the so-called sacrifice being simply an enhancing of the prestige of the function and of the individual principally concerned. Case (5), again, is on a somewhat different and lower plane. In cases (3), (4), and (5) the bodies of the victims were eaten, but not necessarily so in cases (1) and (2). Our east coast native correspondents know nothing of human sacrifice on the occasion of erecting a new fort. In addition to the above purposes for which human beings were sacrificed, we shall see that other occasions were the piercing of the ears of a child of rank, the building of a new fortified village, in connection with war, with divination, with the period of mourning, with agriculture, with the ceremonies performed over an infant. The fifth occasion mentioned in the foregoing list of Tuta scarcely bears the aspect of a sacrifice, but rather of the killing of a person to gratify a desire for revenge.

Human Sacrifice for a New House.

Here we have a barbarous custom as old as the days of human superstition and human folly. The custom of sacrificing a human being at the erection of a new house or fortress is very old; much information on this subject is accessible in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, and the works of Andrew Lang and other writers. Foundation-stones and beams were laid in human blood the world over, and this abominable custom was practised but a few centuries ago in Europe. Survivals of it are still known, as when we place coins or other items under a foundation-stone. As such savage customs became distasteful, substitutes for a human sacrifice were utilized, until we are reduced to the coins mentioned. Among the Takitumu folk of the eastern coast of our North Island the practice of so slaying human beings was perhaps less in evidence than among other tribes. In the well-known tradition of Taraia we are told that he had his own child buried at the base of a

post of his new house: but in one version we are informed that the doomed child was rescued, and a substitute in the form of the child of a slave wife was put in its place.

The general belief in connection with this practice seems to have been that such a sacrifice was necessary in order to ensure stability and durability in the building, be it house, fort, or bridge. The victim was buried under a main supporting-post or foundation-stone in order that he might hold it up. In some cases they were buried alive, or the living person was walled up in a stone wall; in others a person was placed in a hole or foundation and killed by having a huge post or foundation-stones placed on him. Truly man's inhumanity to man has been marked by ingenious devilry.

Apparently human sacrifice for a new house was by no means a common custom in New Zealand. It certainly was not universal, and was connected only with the superior type of house, carefully framed houses of wrought timbers, usually adorned with carvings and painted decorative designs, such as pertained to important chieftains only. No such function ever marked the erection of ordinary dwellinghouses. Again, it is often difficult to distinguish between a ceremonial human sacrifice, as pertaining to ritual observances only, such as the burial of the victim at the base of a post, and the mere killing of a slave to impart prestige to the event, or to serve as the most important part of a feast. In many cases we are simply told that a person was slain for the new house of a certain chief, the tatooing of a certain young woman, or the baptism of some child of a person of rank. Such a remark might be made concerning the formal sacrifice of a human being in order to influence the gods, or the slaying of a person in order to impart *éclat* to a function, or the mere killing of a slave to serve as the principal dish at a house-warming feast.

The term *raukakai*, as applied to a human sacrifice, is met with in old narratives. Thus, at p. 38 of vol. 7 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* we find this sentence, *He raukakai ka tukua hei tohi i te whare me ka oti;* of which a translation is given—"A living sacrifice is given to consecrate a building of importance at its completion." The importance of the house is implied but not stated in the original. The ceremony performed over such a new house is usually called the *kawanga*, while the word *tohi* is used to denote ceremonies performed over persons. Some further notes on this subject are to be found at p. 153 of vol. 5 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society.*

Tutakangahau, of the Tuhoe Tribe, informed me that his tribesmen occasionally sacrificed a human being at the building of an important new house. The body of the hapless victim was buried at the base of the central post supporting the ridge-pole; there is no evidence as to his being buried alive. A victim disposed of in this manner was called a *whatu.* Even if a stone was so buried at the base of the post, or a bird, or lizard, it was known as a *whatu*, a word used in this connection apparently in its sense of "kernel"; it acted as a sort of talisman that preserved the welfare of the people to whom the house belonged. That human body, lizard, bird, or stone represented the vitality and general welfare of house, lands, and people, as preserved and guarded by the gods. They were *manea*, or *ika purapura*—that is, *mauri*—and preserved all from the dread effects of black magic. Among some tribes these talismanic objects were buried at the base of the rear supporting-post, at the back wall of the house, as was the case among the Takitumu folk.

In the published account of Sir G. Grey's visit to Taupo in 1850 we are told that two Ngati-Awa natives had been slain there about two years before in connection with the ceremonial opening of a new house. In this case, however, the killing seems to have been at least partially prompted by a desire for revenge.

Human sacrifice was also known among the kinsmen of the Maori dwelling in the isles of Polynesia. At Mangaia they were made to Rongo and other gods, as the Rev. W. Gill tells us. Such offerings were made in connection with both war and peace. Certain families had to provide any human sacrifices needed in the interests of the community.

A curious incident relating to the custom of human sacrifice at the Island of Mangaia, Cook Group, was related to the writer by Colonel Gudgeon. When holding a Land Court at that island some years ago a certain native came forward and claimed rights of ownership in certain lands. This claim was received in dead silence; no one spoke, until an old man came forward and said to the claimant, "You are dead. Neither you nor your children can claim lands. You have been dead for generations." He then explained to the Court that the claimant's grandfather had long ago been selected as a human sacrifice to the gods, but that he had refused to be so sacrificed, and hence his brother had voluntarily taken his place. The former endeavoured to find refuge with another tribe, but those folk refused to receive him, whereupon he retired to a remote or wild part of the island, and there lived the balance of his days. He was banished, and also looked upon as a dead person. Neither he nor his descendants could own land or possess any rights whatever, whereas the descendants of the brother possess full tribal rights.

At Rarotonga a human being was sacrificed at the birth of a child of the principal chief. The Rev. Mr. Gill tells us that "on the birth of the first-born son of the reigning King Makea a human victim previously fixed upon was slain. The royal babe was placed upon the dead body for the purpose of severing the navel string, thus indicating the absolute sway he would exercise over the lives of his subjects upon succeeding to the throne of his father."

Ellis states that, at Tahiti, a human sacrifice was made when a temple was erected. He adds: "I have been informed by several of the inhabitants of Maeva that the foundation of some of the buildings for the abode of their gods was actually laid in human sacrifices; that at least the central pillar supporting the roof of one of the sacred houses at Maeva was planted upon the body of a man. . . . The unhappy wretches selected were either captives taken in war or individuals who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the chief or priests. When they were wanted, a stone was, at the request of the priest, sent by the king to the chief of the district from which the victims were required. If the stone was received it was an indication of an intention to comply with the requisition."

The same writer tells us that a similar offering was made to the gods in war-time. These victims, viewed as *tapu* offerings, were termed *amo'a tapu*, as an offering to the gods was called *amonga tapu* in New Zealand. In both places, also, human beings doomed to this purpose were spoken of as "fish." Cook wrote at some length on this custom at Tahiti, but the matter given can scarcely be deemed satisfactory when we consider that his knowledge of the native tongue must have been very slight.

Human sacrifices to the gods were also made at the Hawaiian Islands and other Polynesian groups and isles. At the Fiji Isles we have evidence that living human beings were buried at the bases of house-posts. Thus, Sir E. Im Thurn stated that "When a Fijian chief built a house, some of his dependants, whom the great man told off for the purpose, willingly stepped down into the holes which had been dug for the house-posts, and remained there while the earth was filled in on them, and continued thereafter as permanent supporters of the house."

Mr. Coleman Wall, writing in 1916, remarked of this custom of the Fijians, "They buried men standing up under the king-post of temples and chiefs' houses. In later days the victims seem to have been clubbed first."

In Gordon Cumming's *At Home in Fiji* we find the following account: "A series of large holes were dug to receive the main posts of the house, and as soon as these were reared a number of wretched men were led to the spot, and one was compelled to descend into each hole, and therein stand upright, with his arms clasped round it. The earth was then filled in, and the miserable victims were thus buried alive, deriving what comfort they might from the belief that the task thus assigned to them was one of much honour, as assuring stability to the chief's house."

We can now see that this barbarous custom was an old one in the Pacific area. It may have been introduced here, in a modified form, from Fiji, or it may have been brought from Polynesia. We find among Maori customs, arts, &c., curious resemblances to similar ones in Melanesia, while in some cases no parallels are found in Polynesia where we would naturally look for them.

A note in vol. 23 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* states that, in Sarawak, Borneo, "the custom of driving the main post of a new building through the body of a female slave was prevalent amongst the natives of Sarawak until recent years." In H. Ling Roth's work on *The Natives of Sarawak* is an account of this custom, showing that the girl was placed in the hole and the huge post dropped on her body. In former times human sacrifices were made at functions pertaining to burials and peace-makings. Thus we find that this old custom of human sacrifice for a new house has obtained in many lands.

Human Sacrifice for a New Canoe.

The custom of sacrificing a human being at the completion of a new superior canoe seems to have originated in the same belief as in the case of a new house—that is, that it insured the protection of the gods. No doubt the fact that the act enhanced the *mana* or prestige of the individual or clan would also be no slight consideration.

In vol. 8 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 208, occurs the following remark: "In former times, in the first launching of a canoe, the skids were the living bodies of slaves." This statement I must take exception to, for there is no proof that such a custom existed here, although common at Fiji. The slaying of a single person on such an occasion is quite a different matter. In vol. 13 of the above-mentioned *Journal* Colonel Gudgeon speaks of a small vassal tribe having to provide human sacrifices for the Arawa Tribe when needed. One of such occasions was the launching of a war-canoe, when one of the hapless vassals was bound and so utilized as a skid for the vessel, which was hauled over his body in the process of launching. This is the only case mentioned in tradition, so far as we know.

The slaying of a person to mark the completion of a new canoe was apparently practised only in connection with the superior type of vessel, the *waka taua*, or war-canoe, and was not a common custom; it was but occasionally practised.

Ellis tells us that at Tahiti canoes were hauled over the bodies of captives taken in war, but he does not make it clear as to whether or not the bodies were living or dead.

At Fiji human sacrifices far exceeded those of any Polynesian community. Williams, in his *Fiji and Fijians*, writes: "A chief has been known to kill several men for rollers, to facilitate the launching of his canoes, the 'rollers' being afterwards cooked and eaten." (For "rollers" read "skids.") He also states that a Fijian chief would kill a man, or men, on laying down a keel of a new canoe, and try to add one for each fresh plank. Other writers assert that the Fijians used the living bodies of men as skids in canoe-launching. In Gordon Cumming's *At Home in Fiji* we read, after an account of human sacrifice for a new house, the following statement: "The same idea prevailed with respect to launching a chief's canoe, when the bodies of living men were substituted for ordinary rollers." Then comes a description of a scene witnessed by a European. "These people allowed their guests to be surprised in the night, when forty were captured, and each being bound hand and foot to the stems of banana-trees, were then laid as rollers, face uppermost, along the path by which the canoes were to be dragged across the isthmus. The shrieks of the victims were drowned by the hauling-songs of their captors, and, with one exception, all were crushed to death. One poor wretch lingered a while in torture till the ovens were made ready, in which all were cooked."

We read that Scandinavian vikings of old lashed human victims to the rollers over which a vessel was launched, and this savage blood christening has now degenerated into bathing the prow of a new vessel with red wine in place of red blood.

Human Sacrifice for a New Pa, or Fortified Village.

Here we have another matter that has been much magnified by writers on Maori customs. In one case only have human bones been found at the base of the stockade posts of a fortified village, and this has been magnified by some writers into a common custom. The place alluded to is the Tawhiti-nui *pa* at Opitiki, which is said to be a very old place. Native tradition tells us nothing of its origin, but states that it was in existence twenty generations ago. Doubtless the burial of a human sacrifice in such a place was practised occasionally, but there is no proof to show that it was often done. Evidently the idea prompting such a barbarous act was similar to that pertaining to the burial of a person at the base of a house-post—the preservation of the building.

In vol. 15 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Colonel Gudgeon gives an account of the discovery made at Tawhiti-nui: "The present owner of this place, while levelling the old ditches of the fort, thought it advisable to dig up the butts of some old *puriri* posts that had at one time supported the palisades of the *pa*. These butts, though nearly 2 ft. in diameter, and of a wood that is held to be almost indestructible, were, with the exception of a small core, found to be mere dust. But the levelling revealed the interesting fact that no less than thirteen skeletons were found in such positions as to warrant the belief that they had been placed in the holes at the same time as the posts, and were probably buried alive. . . . That the original *pa* was of very ancient date may be inferred from the fact that the bones I have mentioned crumbled into dust after a few days' exposure to the air; only the teeth remained intact." In this case we must presume that the victims had been buried at the bases of the heavier posts of the stockade in order to "hold them up."

Among the Takitumu folk of the east coast a stone was buried at the base of one of the principal stockade posts of an important fortified village. Such a stone was called a *whatu*, and it served as a *mauri* for the village and its inhabitants—that is, it was a talisman rendered effective as a protective agent by its being a kind of shrine or abiding-place for the god or gods under whose protection the village had been placed. It was by means of certain *tapu* ceremonial performances that the *mana* or power of the gods was implanted in such stone.

Colonel Gudgeon mentions a case in the Bay of Plenty district in which a member of a vassal clan was utilized as a human sacrifice for a new *pa*: "When Ngati-Whakaue rebuilt their great *pa* at the Pukeroa (Rotorua), all the tribes in that vicinity lived for a while in a state of apprehension, for they knew full well that some victims would be required to sanctify the work, nor did they breathe freely until the blow had fallen on Ngati-Tura." The statement made, however, in a footnote to p. 209 of vol. 12 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* lacks supporting proof; we do not know that such a thing often occurred.

Tylor gives us evidence as to such human sacrifices for fortified places in Europe, Africa, Asia, Japan, the Asiatic Archipelago, &c., thus showing how widespread was the custom. The burial of human victims at the bases of posts of protective works was also practised in Tenasserim.

Human Sacrifice at the Death of a Chief.

Here we have what was perhaps the most frequent cause of human sacrifice among the Maori folk, though this form was not viewed as a solemn ceremonial affair, such as the sacrifice of a person for a new house, fort, or canoe. Whether the object was to

provide companions and attendants for the dead man in the spirit-world, or simply to add *éclat* to funeral functions, to honour the departed one, this killing was not seemingly viewed as a solemn religious performance.

Mortuary sacrifice was a recognized practice among the Maori, but in connection with persons of importance only. The victim was slain as a *koangaumu*, a term for which we lack a satisfactory definition, and was called an *ika koangaumu*. My Tuhoe notes state that such a sacrifice was simply an aggrandizement of the defunct chief, and that in some cases the victim was a member of the same tribe, though of a different clan. The body in this case was not eaten, nor, apparently, was any rite performed over it.

In his *Life and Times of Patuone* C. O. Davis writes: "It was the custom of the Maoris, on the occasion of a great chieftain's death, to kill a slave, to cook the body in a *tapu* oven, and place it on a stage near the carved tomb of the deceased; but when an inferior man died, *kumara* and *taro* (vegetable food products) only were cooked." Here it must be impressed upon the reader that few native functions were universally performed in the same way; differences obtained in different districts.

Cruise tells us that "When a member of the chief's family dies, a certain number of the slaves, proportioned to the rank of the person, are sacrificed to appease the spirit of the deceased." We have, however, no reliable evidence that this was the object of the sacrifice. Cruise sojourned in New Zealand for but ten months, and could not have acquired a knowledge of the native tongue. Curiously enough, such persons often profess to tell us the origin and meaning of Maori customs, and such statements have been largely guesswork. This writer gives us a brief account of an occurrence at Sydney, when a young Maori chief died there. In Sydney at the same time were several other Maori, some of them commoners. The young chief's friends wished to kill the latter "to appease his departed spirit," and the Rev. Marsden had some difficulty in staying proceedings.

Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, states that "On the death of chiefs, slaves were slain to do them menial service in the next world." Brown, in *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, writes: "It was a very common practice at one time to sacrifice a number of slaves on the death of a chief, in order that he might be duly provided with a respectable retinue of attendants in the next world." In the *New Zealand Journal* for 1845 appeared the following: "In October, 1843, on the death of Kupanga, the wife of a native chief on the island of Waiheke, near Auckland, a slave girl was shot to accompany her mistress to the other world." In an account of a native fight at Taranaki, in which thirteen chiefs were killed, Polack wrote: "On the burial of each chief ten slaves were murdered to serve the *wairua* or spirit of the warrior in the next world." He also describes the lying in state of a dead chief: "Around the body lay his weapons of defence, which were to be buried with him. Alongside lay the body of an interesting girl, wife to the chief, who had hung herself the day previous. . . . Some slaves, male and female, had been put to death to attend their superiors at the Reinga (spirit-world); they were immediately afterwards buried." Again, he says: "A chief named Parenui died while we travelled on the west coast of the northern island, on which three of his wives sacrificed themselves. To aid this family in their eternal route several slaves were murdered to assist their master in his future existence. The females were laid in great state by the side of the husband; the slaves were immediately buried, as such sacrifices are not permitted to be devoured." C. O. Davis tells us that "The self-immolation of the wives of a deceased chief was plainly a voluntary expression of their extreme affection for the dead." This self-murder by widows, being merely suicide, cannot be included in human sacrifice. Nor am I inclined to believe that intense affection was the cause of such suicide on the part of the widows; it was simply a custom; it was deemed the proper thing for a widow to do. Simulation of intense grief was a much-favoured practice among our Maori folk; in some cases it may almost be described as a recreation.

In Fiji this slaying of persons at the death of a chief was a cherished institution, and the missionaries had much more trouble in putting a stop to it than in New Zealand. Of the practice in Fiji, Williams wrote: "This custom may have had a religious origin, but at present the victims are not sacrificed as offerings to the gods, but merely to propitiate and honour the manes of the departed." These remarks would apply equally well to the practice in New Zealand. At Fiji a man's friends suffered grievously; his wife or wives, sometimes also his mother, or a friend, were strangled, and their bodies laid in the bottom of the grave to serve as "grass" to place his body on. This expression resembles one employed by the Maori, who speaks of the sacrificed slaves or other persons as a *whariki*, or mat, for the chief's grave—something for him to rest upon. Early writers on Fiji, however, show us that the natives of that group far excelled the Maori in this savage custom. Thus, Williams tells us that when a certain chief was lost at sea, seventeen of his wives were destroyed. Again, when some natives were killed at Viwa in 1839, eighty women were strangled to accompany the spirits of their husbands to the next world. Mr. J. Matthews, writing from Kaitaia in 1837, tells us of "a wicked old man" who "killed, wantonly killed, a little girl, in order that her spirit might be in attendance on the spirit of his niece, who was on the point of death."

Human Sacrifice connected with War.

The practice of human sacrifice in war, as followed by the Maori, has two aspects to be considered. One is connected with the slaying of a person for a special purpose connected with fighting, but, as a rule, not on a battlefield or during an actual engagement. The other phase is illustrated by the utilization of the body of the first enemy slain as an offering to the gods, a placatory offering to ensure their aid. In his paper on Maori religion Colonel Gudgeon tells us that "When the service on which the war-party was engaged was one of unusual danger, a victim would be chosen and offered up to the gods before the warriors left their village, in order that the favour of those deities might be more effectually secured. In such case the offering to Uenuku would be a man, but to Maru a dog would be offered." This same writer mentions a remarkable case that occurred in the Bay of Plenty district. The Whakatohea Tribe had been twice defeated, with heavy loss, by the Ngai-Tai folk. This fact meant, of course, that the gods were against them, or at least had not exerted themselves in favour of Whakatohea. Their principal tribal god Tama-i-waho, must be placated and propitiated, induced to assist them in squaring the account. Their principal *tohunga* (priestly expert, seer) was consulted, and he came to the conclusion that the best thing to do under the circumstances was to slaughter a number of persons nearly related to Ngai-Tai, who were living among the Whakatohea. These folk really belonged to both tribes, the result of intermarriage; they had every right to live as members of the Whakatohea, and lived in amity with them. But the gods had spoken, or their human medium had, and hence these hapless folk were doomed. They were slain pitilessly as offerings, as a human sacrifice, to the tribal *atua*, thus showing the insecurity of life among a superstitious people. This action had, however, as the writer puts it, the very happiest results, for, in the subsequent fighting, Ngai-Tai were almost annihilated as a tribe.

A human sacrifice was sometimes made in war-time for the purpose of divination; and at any time of stress, perplexity, or threatened danger such an offering might be made, though, so far as we can gather, they did not often take place. In these cases a member of the same tribe, even a near relative of the slayers, might be killed for the purpose. Wilson mentions such an instance in his *Life of Te Waharoa*, when, at such a time, a priest demanded the sacrifice of a man of rank in order to save the tribe from disaster. A relative of an important chief was selected, and the courage with which he met his death put new heart into the tribesmen, who defeated their enemies in the next engagement.

In an account of the troubles of the Rotorua Mission published in the *Church Missionary Record* of 1838, Mr. Knight gives a vivid description of horrors he witnessed: "A body, apparently that moment killed, was dragged into the camp before me; his head was off almost before I could look round. This did not satisfy the wretches; his breast was opened, and his heart, steaming with warmth, was pulled out and carried off." Here the heart of the slain was almost certainly taken as an offering to the gods. Of another incident that occurred in the same district this writer says: "According to the savage customs of the New-Zealanders, they took out the heart of the first man who was shot on the Rotorua side, and made it an offering to Whiro, the Evil Spirit. His mangled corpse, in a state of nudity, was then exposed on a rough wooden stand outside the *pa*."

Shortland also makes some remarks on this use of the heart of the first slain of the enemy: "The body of the first person slain was sacred to the *atua*, or spirit, who had guided them to success. It was devoted to the *atua* to keep him in good humour, or, in their own words, *kia koa ai* (that he might rejoice). The heart of the victim was fixed on a stake." Tunui-a-rangi, of Wai-rarapa, states that the heart of the first enemy slain in a fight was handed to the priest, who offered it to the gods. It also seems, in some cases, to have been placed against the lips of the first-born male child of the leading chief, that he might become a successful warrior.

Judge Wilson, in speaking of the offering to Whiro mentioned above, says: "The offerings consisted of a cooked piece of heart or liver, a lock of hair, and a cooked potato each placed on a small stick planted in the ground by a little oven, for Whiro had his own separate oven, about the size of a dinner-plate. The flesh and hair had been taken from the body of the first man killed in the battle, which body was a *whakahere* (propitiatory offering) held *tapu* to the *atua*. And sometimes, in a doubtful strife, the priest of a force would hastily rip out the *whakahere's* heart, and, muttering incantations, would wave it to the *atua* to ensure the success of his people."

In his Ngai-Tahu (South Island) notes Mr. John White tells us that the body of the first enemy slain in a fight was *tapu* to Tu-matauenga. If such body was not obtainable, then a prisoner, or even a camp-follower, would be killed in order to supply the deficiency. In this latter case the body was not cooked, but an offering of the blood thereof was made to Tu. In some cases, where a human offering was not available, a dog or bird was substituted therefor.

Human Sacrifice in connection with Agriculture.

Here we encounter an extremely ancient custom that has been practised in many parts of the world. Innumerable cases are on record describing such sacrifices as made by many races for the purpose of securing bountiful crops. It will be seen that it was not a Maori custom of later times, but that certain survivals and traditions tend to show that it must have been a custom of their ancestors of the remote past, one that has fallen into desuetude with the lapse of time.

Such sacrifices in connection with agriculture have evidently been practised in Asia for a very long period, and probably the custom spread thence westward into Europe, where curious survivals are noted. It was also probably carried eastward from Asia into the island system. Several phases of the custom were practised in India until quite recent times, and in that land we find that it has survived to modern times in its most savage and revolting form. For example, among the Kandhs a man was dragged round the fields and pieces of flesh were cut from his living body until he died; such pieces being taken away and buried in the different fields to ensure good crops. Compared with such horrible savagery the local Maori custom of utilizing bones of the dead for a similar purpose seems a mild one.

Grant Allen has advanced the theory that human sacrifice by agriculturists—and, indeed, the art of agriculture itself—has originated in observation of the fact that plant-

life on graves is peculiarly luxuriant; seeds readily germinating and plants flourishing in the newly turned soil. This seems to be a somewhat far-fetched theory, and one we need scarcely inquire into. The buried person, of course, came to be supplanted by the body of a man killed for that specific purpose, to cause crops to grow. Allen gives a considerable amount of information pertaining to this custom, but Mr. Fraser's works are the great storehouse of such data. In common with Greeks, Asiatic peoples, and many others, the Maori personified food products, and so religious ideas were closely connected with agriculture. The Maori belief that the sweet potato, their principal cultivated product, possesses a life-principle that demands careful treatment lest it depart, and the East Indian belief that rice is animated by a soul, would necessarily lead to very peculiar usages, and in such beliefs might even be found the ideas that prompted human sacrifice in connection with agriculture. Herein also may be found a base for the evolution of such concepts as corn-gods, personified forms of cultivated food products. The peculiar usages to which this belief has led in Indonesia are far-reaching. The belief that a plant you wish to destroy and consume is inhabited by a sentient spirit must necessarily result in the practice of very singular customs. This was evidently the origin of the peculiar attitude of the Maori toward the *kumara* (sweet potato) and its personified forms, or tutelary beings, Rongo and Pani. Hence we have the *tapu* of growing crops and the fields in which they grow; hence the magic formulae or charms recited over the seed when planted, the deference paid to the plant, the conciliatory attitude, actions, and words of planters when they injured a tuber. Some very astonishing evidence concerning such beliefs has been recorded, and the Maori can contribute his share of such data. From our local Pani and Rongo to Ceres and Persephone of the far west the chain extends across the wide earth.

So little is known in Maori tradition concerning human sacrifice in connection with agriculture that in order to describe an illustrative case we are compelled to go back some twenty generations in native history. It may have been a well-known custom at one time among the Maori, but it must have pertained to a remote period of their history. In the tradition of the introduction of the *kumara*, or sweet potato, into these isles we are told that difficulty was experienced in retaining the life-principle or soul of the prized tuber—without which highly important element the plant could not possibly flourish. This difficulty was surmounted, and the vitality and productiveness of the tubers ensured, by slaying the hapless voyager who had introduced them from Polynesia, and by sprinkling the door of the storehouse in which the crop was placed with his blood. In addition to this heroic remedy, for many years after the skull of the victim, one Taukata by name, was placed in the fields in order that a bountiful crop might be assured. Apart from the case given, it is only this latter custom that we hear of in local Maori history. It is evidently a survival of the more barbarous method to which Taukata fell a victim. We hear of a number of cases in which bones of the dead were placed in the cultivation-grounds to produce a good crop. In some cases they were the remains of clansmen, relatives; in others they were the bones of enemies; both appear to have been effective. Probably the remains of persons of some importance only were so employed. In one case that occurred about a century ago the head of a slain enemy chief was used by the Tuhoe folk to "guard" a famous bird-snaring tree. Members of the Awa Tribe of Te Teko heard of this occurrence, and asked for the loan of the head, that they might utilize it to procure good crops. Frazer, of *Golden Bough* fame, tells us that the Wa natives of Upper Burmah "still hunt for human heads as a means of promoting the welfare of the crops. Without a skull his crops would fail."

Survivals and other evidence of former cannibalism are still met with among the most civilized nations, and we see the same survivals with regard to human sacrifice. Thus, Grant Allen mentions the case of the restoration of Holsworthy Church, Devon, in 1885, when a human skeleton with a mass of mortar plastered over the mouth was

found embedded in an angle of the building. The introduction of savage customs into Christianity has been truly remarkable, of which the above-mentioned writer gives some interesting examples. The communion of the Christian and the placing of coins under a foundation-stone are survivals of barbaric ceremonial, of cannibalism and human sacrifice.

There were other minor occasions on which a human sacrifice was sometimes made, though I cannot agree with some writers who imply that such sacrifices were universal, or even common. They were made only in connection with members of leading families, and were evidently often omitted. Again, I am by no means inclined to admit that the examples mentioned below should come under this heading simply because the victims were not slain as offerings to the gods, but merely to enhance the prestige of the individual, the family, or the function. To a certain extent the sacrifice was ceremonial, but can scarcely be termed a religious rite. The minor occasions alluded to comprised (1) the tattooing of the chin and lips of the daughter of a chief; (2) the piercing of the ears of such a girl; (3) the function of baptizing the first-born son of an important chief; (4) the function that put an end to the period of mourning for the dead. Of these occasions, the evidence goes to show that No. 3 was the one most frequently marked by the death of a victim, and that on the other occasions it rarely took place. Such killings, we are told, occurred only in the case of the first-born of either sex, for the Maori upheld the law of primogeniture. It was to these first-born offspring that *tapu* more particularly pertained.

There is one phase of this man-killing as a human sacrifice, or for purposes of self-aggrandizement, that natives frequently enlarge upon. When the victim was a person belonging to another tribe or subtribe the inevitable result in after-years would be that jibes would be cast at the descendants of the victim, such as "Your ancestor was slain for the *tanga ngutu* [lip-tattooing] of my ancestress." This would be as much as saying that the person addressed was a nobody, whose family had been obliged to provide such victims. This would be a bitter taunt to a Maori.

When a person of rank died, his near relatives, as a widow, entered the *whare potae*, or house of mourning, which is purely a figurative expression employed to denote the period or state of mourning for the dead. When this period was over a certain religious ceremony was performed over the mourners in order to release them from the condition of *tapu*. It was at this function that, occasionally, a slave or other person was slain in order to add importance to the ceremony. In a case that occurred at Te Whaiti a slave was killed, his body being cut up, cooked, and eaten as a part of the ceremonial feast that accompanied most Maori sacerdotal performances. A few notes on these so-called sacrifices may be found in vol. 15 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 153, also in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 30, pp. 37–38.

There was another curious form of human sacrifice, or at least of man-slaying, that may be mentioned, the meaning of which is not clear. It may have been instituted as an offering or reward to the gods in return for certain powers granted by them. When a man had been trained as a *tohunga*, and had acquired the knowledge of charms and formulae of black and white magic, his powers were put to the test. We are told that there were several such tests. In one of these the pupil held a stone in his hand, over which he recited a certain charm, after which he struck the stone with a stick held in his right hand, and so broke the stone. In another test he killed a tree by means of a magic charm; in yet another he killed a bird by the same means. But yet another test that was in some cases assigned him was the slaying of a person by means of such formulae of black magic. This is spoken of as the price paid by the pupil for the knowledge he had acquired. The price consisted of the life of one of his relatives, possibly his mother, or brother. We are told that, occasionally, the person selected was the adept who had taught the pupil. Such a victim was slain by magic alone; no personal violence was offered him. Doubtless fear would kill him.

All natives are firm believers in the powers of black magic to effect these wondrous things. The body of such a slain relative would, of course, be buried, not eaten, and the person sacrificed was called the *tauira patu* of the pupil who slew him.

Turner tells us that Samoan traditions speak of human sacrifices to the sun as having been made in ancient times, but the story seems to be a vague one. We have no knowledge of any such practice having existed among our Maori folk of New Zealand. If it ever did exist, then such a sacrifice would presumably have been made to Tane, the personified form of the sun.

We are sometimes told that prisoners of war were often sacrificed when a raiding force returned home, whereupon the widows of local men slain would kill a number of prisoners. This, however, does not seem to have been in any sense a religious ceremony, but merely prompted by a desire for revenge.

It is, of course, incorrect to attribute the custom of human sacrifice to the lust of cruelty. What may be termed true human sacrifice, the slaying of persons to serve as offerings to the gods, or for similar ritual purposes, is evidently the product of superstition and ignorance. It has been adopted and continued by religious systems the world over. The savage slaughter of persons by the Holy Inquisition of Christianity pertains much less to religion than did the killing of a man to cause crops to flourish, or to placate a tribal god.

We now see that many of these killings of human beings, as intermittently practised by the Maori, were not religious rites. Those connected with funeral observances do not appear to have been perpetrated with a view to pleasing any god, but rather to please the spirit of the deceased person, or to enhance the *mana* of his family.

In these explanations of *atua maori*, their attributes and activities, it has not been considered worth while to give lists of names of the innumerable beings of the fourth class; they would be tedious and unprofitable. A partial list of those of the Matatua tribes may be found at p. 64 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 11; also vol. 17, p. 102.

In vol. 7 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, p. 4, Wohlers tells us that "the heathen religion of the Maori of New Zealand had got into such confusion that no meaning could be found in it. . . . But the Maori religion had lost its hold on the old gods altogether, and had taken hold on their living chiefs, and their surrounding *tapu*." He maintains that the original gods (meaning the departmental deities) had been neglected, and superseded by new ones, deified ancestors. In this contention he was assuredly wrong. The cult of the departmental widely known gods, or personifications, was retained until Christianity was introduced. Deified ancestors of the fourth class never supplemented them, nor were they confused with them. The apparent confusion that misled Wohlers is now better understood; we now know how to classify these *atua*, and assign to each class its proper place in the Maori pantheon. This group system of gods is viewed by Montgomery, in his *Religions Past and Present*, as an advance on animism, and which eventually might lead to the concept of a Supreme God.

The original basis of the Maori religious system, and indeed that of the whole Polynesian race, was probably animatism, the attribution of life and personality to things. This view of natural phenomena led to widespread personification, and these personifications form what we have called the second class or departmental gods. Presumably this was a very ancient form of belief, and the concept of a Supreme Being must have been evolved after that of departmental tutelary beings. Below the latter come a multitude of inferior beings—godlets, familiar spirits, and demons. The whole system bears a striking resemblance to that evolved by the old peoples of Babylonia.

Andrew Lang urges us to bear in mind that gods do not improve, morally or otherwise, in pace with advancing civilization, and also lays stress on the moral gods

of low races. To the present writer the cause of this peculiar fact, in many cases, seems to be that already referred to. The Maori, with his numerous and classified gods, had no difficulty in preserving the purity of the cult of Io, and the moral status of that being. He did so by confining that advanced cultus to a few superior minds, and by allowing the people to deal with any lower type of gods they appreciated or thought fit to utilize. As a people advance beyond the culture-level of the Maori there is opened up before the superior minds the attractive vision of monotheism, and efforts may be made to introduce such a belief, or one god is given many names. But the lower minds are by no means fitted to receive and appreciate monotheism, hence a lone god is bound to become endowed with undesirable qualities. He becomes degraded by gross superstition and thaumaturgic practices.

It has already been stated in these pages that the Maori word *atua* is one of very peculiar significance, and, in many cases, to translate the word as meaning "god" is to convey a totally wrong impression. It is, however, often difficult to find a suitable term to employ. The expression *atua whakahaehae*, as applied to a person, seems to mean a malignant or terrifying demon. Yet this word *atua* is also applied to the Supreme Being of Christianity and to a virulent or loathsome disease. Europeans, firearms, watches, and compasses have all been alluded to by natives as *atua*. Anything supernatural, or strange, or objectionable, anything not understood or mysterious may be so termed.

Images.

A chapter devoted to images of Maori gods might on first thought be compared to that famous and oft-quoted one on the snakes of Ireland, in the line of brevity. There are, however, two kinds of such representations of *atua* that were made and utilized by the Maori folk, and these call for some description and explanation.

In the first place, it must be distinctly stated that the Maori was no idolater; he possessed and worshipped no idols; his peculiar mentality would not have allowed of his doing so. There is another point: our native folk were further removed from idolatry than are vast numbers of Christians, such as the Spanish Americans and many Irish. Dieffenbach wrote: "Nowhere in New Zealand have I seen anything that could be regarded as an idol, although some persons have said that such exist. This absence of all carved gods among the natives appeared to me a very attractive trait in their national character. They are too much the children of nature, and perhaps too intellectual, to adore wooden images or animals, and I often heard the heathen natives deride the pewter images of the Holy Virgin which the Roman Catholic priests have brought into the country."

Some folk appear to believe that the grotesquely carved human figures in native houses, and the equally uncouth cenotaphs, are Maori idols, and such statements have even been made by lecturers on native customs, &c. Such an assumption is, however, entirely wrong, for those figures were never so viewed by the Maori. Those pertaining to houses were named after, and represented, ancestors. Even Polack, with all his misconceptions, tells us that "the numerous grotesque images sculptured by the people have been supposed by travellers to be representations of divinities, yet the natives have never attached any such ideas to them."

The Maori folk never ventured to form any image of the Supreme Being, nor did they do so in connection with the inferior *atua*. The only classes of deities of whom they had any images or representations were the intermediate ones. We find that among the Aztecs of Mexico a similar condition existed; no image represented the Supreme Being, though the lower gods were so personated.

The beings of whom certain small images were made in former times, though not apparently universally used, were Tane, Rongo, Tu, Tangaroa, Tawhiri-matea, Maru, and

WOODEN IMAGES EMPLOYED AS TEMPORARY SHRINES FOR SPIRIT-GODS.

Haumia, possibly also Kakukura. There are two forms in which these images, so called, were made. Those employed by cultivators in the fields were rudely fashioned stone figures representing Rongo, the patron or tutelary being of the art of agriculture. The others were wooden figures, carved in grotesque imitation of the human form as to the upper part, and with the lower ends brought to a point. These were employed by *tohunga*, or priestly experts, as mediums of communication with *atua*. The illustrations given show the different forms of such as have been preserved. Our information concerning these objects is not complete, and is in some ways unsatisfactory. Some authorities state that to each *atua* so represented a special figure was assigned, which was used in connection with that being only. In Mr. White's Ngati-Hau notes, however, it is said that different spirit gods were, at different times, located in, or induced to enter, one and the same image. It is possible that both statements are correct, but that they pertain to different tribes. We know that native customs, ritual, &c., did vary in different districts.

In vol. 1 of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* may be seen illustrations of six peg-like objects said to have been used by the Maori in former times to represent the six tutelary beings whose names are given above. These pegs are of different forms, and such shapes are said to denote some peculiarity connected with the beings they represent. Thus, the wooden peg representing Tu is perfectly straight; that of Tawhiri-matea is of corkscrew form, said to symbolize the whirling winds; that of Tane is straight, with the exception of a semicircular bend in the middle, which is said to represent growth in the vegetable world, which pertains to Tane. The *toko* (as Mr. White terms these pegs) of Tangaroa is of zigzag form, to represent the waves of the ocean, the realm of that being; that of Rongo has four curves, to represent the curved tubers of the *kumara;* while that of Haumia has three small rounded bends, to betoken the form of the rhizomes of *Pteris*, of which Haumia is the personification. All these pegs have a rounded knob on the upper end, while the lower end is pointed for thrusting into the earth. The author gives us no information as to what district or tribe these peculiar symbols pertained, or how they were used, but simply states that each one was kept in the school of instruction pertaining to the subjects with which the tutelary beings mentioned were connected. Some remarks on these schools will be made elsewhere. No specimens of these curoius objects seem to have been preserved, nor has any corroboration of these notes appeared, but they may have been employed by some section of the native folk.

We now pass on to another form of which old specimens have been preserved, and concerning which we can offer more precise information. The carved pegs or staves employed as temporary abiding-places for spirit gods during placatory, invocatory, and divinatory rites are sometimes called by us "god-sticks," which is not an attractive name. They were termed *tiki* by some, and this name is applied in a general sense to figures fashioned in human form, not only in these isles but also in Polynesia. In White's notes they are called either *tiki* or *tiki wananga*, the last word having reference to their use in sacerdotal matters. One native gave the name of *atua kiato* for them, but no corroboration of this has been received. The cenotaphs carved in human form were styled *tiki*, but similar figures on a house-gable, or the posts of a stockade, were called *tekoteko*. Taylor speaks of them as *whakapakoko*, a term used to denote images used for different purposes. Williams gives *whakapakoko rakau*, or *pou whakapakoko*, as "a post with a carved top, used for purposes of incantation." I am inclined to think that *pou* is here applied to these peg-like objects, and not to a larger one that might be termed a post.

Taylor writes as follows of these carved pegs and their employment: "The Maori could scarcely be said to be idolators, although they certainly had idols, yet they were not generally worshipped, but only used by the priests as adjuncts to their *karakia*

(invocations, &c.). The *whakapakoko*, or images, thus used were little more than wooden pegs with a distorted figure of the human head carved on the top; these were about eighteen inches long; the other end was pointed so that they could be stuck in the ground. . . . These images were only thought to possess virtue or peculiar sanctity from the presence of the god they represented when dressed up for worship; at other times they were regarded only as bits of ordinary wood. This dressing consisted in the first place of the *pahau*, or beard, which was made by a fringe of the bright-red feathers of the *kaka* parrot, next to the peculiar cincture of sacred cord with which it was bound. This mystic bandage was not only tied on in a peculiar way by the priest, who uttered his most powerful spells all the time he was doing it, but also whilst he was twisting the cord itself, and, lastly, painting the entire figure with the sacred *kura*. This completed the preparation for the reception of the god, who was by these means constrained to come and take up his abode in it when invoked."

I certainly would not apply the term "idol" to these mediumistic figures. They were in no way worshipped, but merely used as temporary shrines while a ceremony was being performed. At no other time were they used or resorted to.

The following notes on the subject are based on matter in Mr. J. White's manuscript notes. The statement that such symbols were employed whereby to represent third-class *atua* is a new feature, but quite possibly correct, at least in reference to some tribes.

In at least some cases, when the *tiki wananga* were about to be consulted by a priest, he first tied a sort of ruffle of red *kaka* feathers round the neck of the figure. These figures were styled *tiki* because they were made in human form; they were given the name of the first person created by the gods. They were made of wood, and showed human bodies; the lower part, below the legs of the figure, being pointed like a top (*kaihotaka* = whip-top), so that it might be stuck in the earth.

The divination expert seated himself on the ground and stuck the *tiki* in the earth before, and facing, him. He then tied one end of a strip of *Phormium* leaf round the neck of the figure, holding the other end in his hand. He then chanted the *karakia* (ritual, charm, invocation) by means of which the spirit god was induced to temporarily occupy the image. Thus the wooden image served as a shrine or medium for the *atua*, which it was induced to occupy for a brief period, until the ceremony was over.

The *tohunga* then proceeded to recite his invocation or charm, for few of these effusions can properly be termed invocations. As he did so he pulled the string in his hand so as to cause the figure to move, and this was to attract the attention of the indwelling spirit, and cause it to pay attention to the ritual being recited. Having finished the first part of his ritual chant, the priest shook up his spirit god by means of another tug at the string, and proceeded with the second part, this process being repeated until the whole of the ritual was delivered. As each division was recited he stuck a piece of stick in the ground, or, as some explain it, he stuck in a piece as he finished each request he made of the god.

A Ngati-Hau native states that a single image might be used as a shrine for different spirit gods at different times, but other evidence seems to show that each *atua* had its own special image assigned to it.

These curious "god-sticks," as we are pleased to term them, are said to have been kept in *papa whakairo* or carved boxes when not in use, though this need not have been a universal custom.

A Ngai-Tahu note states that occasionally a bone of a defunct ancestor, or a lock of hair taken from the head of a dead person, and that had been used as an offering to the gods, was used as a *tiki wananga*, or material medium, in these divinatory rites. In these cases, however, the term *tiki* seems to be a misnomer.

Mr. White has also a note to the effect that the wooden images made to represent Kahukura and Rongo-nui-a-tau were a cubit in length. The upper part was carved into human form, the head and body of a person, but in place of legs the lower part was left uncarved, and simply pointed for sticking in the ground. These figures were painted red with ochre, and, when about to be used as a shrine or medium for the *atua*, such an image had a form of ritual recited over it. To it might be attached an arm-bone or leg-bone of the skeleton of some important person of past generations. Now the spirit god invoked would enter the image, and all was ready for the ceremonial of divination. No clear explanation, however, is given of how the indwelling spirit made known its dicta.

Mr. White also tells us that, when so sanctified and occupied by the spirit god, the image was styled a *mua*. This term *mua* was applied to a *tapu* place in former times, as in antithesis to *muri* (a common or *noa* place, such as a cooking-shed).

In yet another account the above authority says that hair from the head of Rakaiora was sometimes used as a medium itself, or was attached to a *tiki wananga*. These attached objects seem to have imparted additional *mana* to the medium, in native belief. As to the hair of Rakaiora, one scarcely knows what this is supposed to convey. Rakaiora, in Maori myth, is the personified form of the lizard, but, so far as the observation of the present writer has extended, the head of that reptile is sadly lacking in hair, hence some other source must be sought.

In some cases, as when travelling, a *tohunga* would use his *turupou*, or walking-staff, as a temporary shrine for an *atua* that he wished to consult, either in divinatory ceremonial or to invoke for other purposes. In some cases he attached a string to the staff, which was stuck in the ground, and gave the string a tug now and again, as was done with the carved wooden images.

In his *Maori History of the Taranaki Coast*, Mr. S. P. Smith speaks of the images of such third-class beings as Maru, Te Ihinga-o-te-rangi, Kahukura, and Rongomai. He also gives illustrations (p. 88) of three old specimens of these carved and sinnet-bound wooden mediums. These originally belonged to the Ngati-Ruanui Tribe, and are supposed to represent Rongo, Maru, and Tangaroa. These specimens appear to belong to Mr. Aldred, and an account of them appeared in a German publication some years ago. The double-headed one is thought to represent Tangaroa, but this is by no means assured; I should think it more likely that it referred to Rongo. Its length is 12 in.; length of double head, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. The lower end has apparently decayed. There is a hole perforated between the two heads that shows rough work as of a stone chisel. All three of these specimens were probably fashioned by means of stone implements, and all show signs of having been painted with red ochre. The eyes of the double-headed figure are fitted with pieces of *Haliotis* shell, which are kept in position by the small projections over which they fit. The crossed lashing of small well-laid cord has been neatly executed in two specimens, the cord being apparently three strand flat. In two specimens the lashing is countersunk, but not so in the third, the figure to the right, where the lashing seems to have a packing of thin, fibrous bark under it. This latter specimen is made of *matai* (*Podocarpus spicatus*) wood; it has a peculiar carved design on the forehead of the figure, and a row of six small knobs on the top of the head. Both this and No. 1 appear to be very old; prominent parts are worn smooth and bear a glazed appearance. The shell eyes have disappeared from No. 3, and the eyes of No. 1 are protuberant, not countersunk.

In *Bulletin No. 3* of the Dominion Museum series are given illustrations of five more of these image sticks. Three of these were obtained by the Rev. R. Taylor, and are now in the possession of Mr. Harper, of Whanganui. Replicas of these three old specimens are in the Dominion Museum. One is double-headed, the upper parts of the heads being of a peculiar shape. Illustrations of two others given on the same page show one

plain specimen, and the other adorned with a very curious carved design. This is said to represent two highly conventionalized human figures, back to back, and having their arms and legs interlaced.

Mr. White's notes mention the images (*whakapakoko*) of Kahukura and Rongo-nui-a-tau. The latter name seems to have been widely known, but it is not clear as to whether or not it denotes the same being as Rongo-maraeroa. The names Rongo-te-aniwaniwa, Rongo-te-haeata, and Rongo-te-whakatapu also appear in those notes, but these are not familiar to us. One of the above writer's Ngai-Tahu notes is to the effect that all ritual matter recited before these images was directed not to the image itself, but to the *atua* abiding within it. The image itself is but a temporary shrine, and serves as a shrine for the spirit god, which, by means of the ceremonial performances of an expert, is induced to enter and abide in it for a space.

Mr. White has also a note to the effect that a wooden image was occasionally made in order to represent a deceased relative, and set up in the house. The garments of the lost one were arranged on it, it was called by his or her name, wept over, and food offerings were made to it, as though it were a living person.

In Mr. Shand's account of the Moriori folk of the Chatham Islands occur the following remarks: "Certain of these gods were represented at various places by carved images. There were five or six of them at Ouenga. . . . Amongst them were included Maru and Rongomai. . . . It was customary to bind the image of Maru with a plaited rope." In the list of Moriori *atua*, or gods, given by Mr. Shand, the following were also known to the Maori: Tu, Tane, Tangaroa, Rongo, Maru, Rakeiora, Uenuku, Rongomai.

From an east coast source the Auckland Museum has acquired a carved human image representing two persons joined back to back. Apparently it is a modern object, and several auger-holes have been bored in it, and closed by means of plugs. Concealed in these holes were found (1) hair of a child; (2) an umbilical cord; (3) a child's penis.

The Rev. W. E. Hipwell, C.M.S., Pakhoi, S. China, informed the writer that some Buddhist images seen by him had orifices in the back that contained the "soul" of the image. This was a silver object that represented the various organs of the human body. At p. 154 of vol. 8 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* will be found a description of a huge image made in connection with certain ritual observances. Carved forms of lizards appeared on the image, and in its back was a hollow space in which was deposited an *atua* in the form of a *heitiki*, a greenstone neck-pendant. Hollow images were also known in eastern Polynesia, and offerings of red feathers were placed in such holes. These Polynesians had the Maori custom of adorning their images with curiously wrought sinnet lashing. All such images were styled *ti'i* (= Maori *tiki*) at the Society Group. Ellis gives an illustration of one, 4 ft. in height, that was hollow and contained a number of small images. This came from Rurutu Isle of the Austral Group. The *atua* known as Ri, who seems to personify evil passions at Tahiti, was represented with two heads.

At pp. 60 and 62 of his *Maori Religion and Mythology* Shortland speaks of offerings of food to certain images of persons, prominent chiefs, as being a part of certain ritual performances. Thus, in a ceremony to free persons from *tapu*, the said *tapu* was transferred to an article of food, which was offered to the image of a defunct forbear. This meant that it was so offered to the *koromatua*, or ancestral spirits, and the *tapu* was so transferred to them. We have no definite information concerning these images of family ancestors apart from house carvings, or of their connection with sacerdotal ceremonies.

In vol. 4 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 295, Mr. Rutland speaks of a greenstone image 8 in. or 9 in. high as having been found in the Nelson district about 1865. This may have been an unusually large *heitiki*, or neck-pendant. The lack of precision in the estimated length given may denote some exaggeration of size. In vol. 10 of the same *Journal* the Rev. T. G. Hammond speaks of curiously wrought stones and

RUDE STONE IMAGE EMPLOYED AS A SHRINE, OR ABIDING-PLACE, FOR ATUA UNDER WHOSE CARE A CROP WAS PLACED.

Bulletin No. 10.]

[*To face p. 161.*

images in wood and stone as having been used as landmarks in the Taranaki district, and these boundary-marks are, he says, in that district, termed *atua maori*. This term might be applied to any object of superstitious regard, and it is quite probable that the *mana*, or power, of such objects was due to the fact that they had been endowed with punitive powers by means of some ceremony. The force behind such powers could emanate only from the gods (*atua*).

Another form of image was occasionally employed by the Maori, small wooden images that were put to a very peculiar use. Occasionally a childless wife would make a small wooden figure in human form, clothe it in small garments, possibly decorate it with ornaments, and then nurse it as though it were a child. Several songs (*oriori* = lullabies) are on record that have been composed to be sung over such sooterkin babes. (See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 14, p. 139; also vol. 15, p. 8.)

It will thus be seen that images of human form were employed by the Maori for divers purposes, and care has to be taken by investigators when inquiring into their uses.

We now come to the crudely carved stone figures usually called "*kumara* gods." These objects are blocks of stone roughly fashioned in semi-human form, and which served as *taunga atua*, or *taumata atua*—that is, as temporary abiding-places for *atua*. These mediums were placed in the fields in which the *kumara* (sweet potato) crops were grown, in order that the plants might flourish and a bountiful crop result. They are sometimes alluded to as *mauri*, or talismans, that protected the life-principle of the *kumara* —to fully explain which concept would require too much space here; it must be left to a future chapter. To describe such a mediumistic object as a god is, of course, a misnomer. They simply acted as shrines or abiding-places for certain powers of certain tutelary beings or spirits, and, while so possessed, were highly valued and respected. They were protective and nurturing talismans.

The late Mr. Denton, of Wellington, possessed a small stone image, perhaps 6 in. in height, with a hollow space in it, which is said to have been used formerly in the *kumara* fields, but we have no precise information concerning it.

Hurae Puketapu states that offerings were made to these stone talismans. He was probably referring to offerings of the food products under cultivation in the field. The *Dominion Museum Bulletin No. 9* contains a considerable amount of information concerning these matters. In *Bulletin No. 3*, p. 109, is an illustration of a specimen in pumicestone that was found at the Chatham Islands. It resembles New Zealand specimens, though it cannot have served the same purpose, for the sweet potato was not grown at the Chathams.

A number of these rude stone figures are preserved in our museums and in private collections. Some of them seem to have represented Rongo, the tutelary being of agriculture and personified form of the sweet potato, and were so called. An illustration of one appears as frontispiece to vol. 5 of White's *Ancient History of the Maori*. Other such illustrations are given in *Museum Bulletin No. 9*. Hari Wahanui, of Otorohanga, spoke of a local stone image as though it were a double one, or possibly two were used in the field. He says that it was called Rongo, and it was the *mauri* of the sweet potato (*Penei tonu i te tangata te hanga, e rua, e awhi ana ki a raua nga kumara*).

Such roughly-fashioned stone figures as these under discussion were made in various parts of Polynesia. One such from Tahiti is illustrated in the *American Museum Journal* for 1908. Others from Neckar Island are illustrated in vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

The evidence goes to show that the wooden and stone figures described above cannot correctly be termed "gods," and that the term "idol" is also a misnomer, for such objects were assuredly not worshipped. It requires much careful inquiry and an infinite patience to ascertain the true status of such things, and the precise views of natives

concerning them. Many errors have been recorded by observers respecting these matters, and such errors are, unfortunately, liable to reappear in the works of anthropologists who have to rely upon published matter for their data.

It is quite clear that the Maori folk had no true idols; that they did not confuse the symbolized *atua* with the stone or wooden symbol. There was, I believe, a closer connection between an *atua* and its living *aria*, such as a lizard, in the minds of the ordinary people, than between an *atua* and its image or shrine.

It seems to me that idolatry, faith in idols, with the accompanying worship of such images, demands a peculiar mental condition not found in the Maori. Such beliefs and practices call for a superstitious nature, and this the Maori assuredly possesses. But a certain degree of servility is also necessary, and in this quality the Maori is certainly lacking. I do not think that the Maori could ever be induced to place any faith in idols. His mental attitude was too independent and too critical. Thus we have the strange position of a barbaric race despising idolatry, and, on the other hand, nations occupying a much higher plane of civilization generally having the greatest faith in idolatrous practices. When Tylor applied the term "memorial idol" to Maori cenotaphs he conveyed a wrong impression, and the word "idol" should have been omitted. Temporary spirit embodiment in a carved stick, induced for the purpose of a brief sacerdotal ceremony, can scarcely be said to transform that image into a true idol; it was not worshipped. Such an object occupies a very different position from that of the images, holy spirits, bones, and toe-nails of certain Christian peoples. Waitz tells us that the West African negro demands a visible object to worship, but the Maori requires no such a symbol. In certain parts of Polynesia the natives seem to have favoured images of important gods in a way that the Maori of New Zealand never did.

In some cases, in the Pacific Isles, idols, or so-called idols, were merely shapeless blocks of wood or stone, unshaped by the hand of man. In many cases, however, such objects were fashioned in human form, for man has ever fashioned his gods after his own form. This fact impinges on the universal concept of anthropomorphic deities, concerning which so much has been written. Some have laid stress on the fact that uncultured man ever conceives his deities as of human form. But civilized man does precisely the same thing; and what else can man do, be he savage or enlightened? We cannot assign to a deity the form of a cube, or sphere, or other geometric figure. The one alternative to anthropomorphism in such conceptions is, apparently, the belief that deity—that God, for example—is not so much an entity as something non-corporeal, some ichor, that occupies all space and all matter.

Grant Allen tells us that the destruction of the symbol of a god is apt to refine a religion, and cites the example of Jahweh-worship, when that cultus attained to a higher and purer form of spiritual monotheism after the destruction, or loss, of the sacred ark and its contents.

Evidence given in this paper will show that Maori religion was no well-defined system of beliefs and practices, of rules and ceremonial to which all were compelled to adhere. It was a loose and free-and-easy series of beliefs and ceremonial, that left each person pretty well free to follow his own line of desire. So long as he respected the laws of *tapu* (and such observance was compulsory), he could please himself as to his own dealings with the gods, and he had the privilege of selecting his god from a large number. If he wished to deal merely with a familiar spirit, a private *atua*, as it were, he might act as the medium of the spirit of a defunct parent or other forbear. There was no regular system of worship or ceremonial to attend, and as to irregular performances for the public benefit, he might attend them or not as he thought fit. As regards private ceremonial, the recital of charms and performance of magico-religious acts, as connected with his own activities, he was at liberty either to practise all such aids or to leave them severely alone.

PART VI.

TOHUNGA, TUAHU, AND MATAKITE: PRIESTS, SACRED PLACES, AND DIVINATION.

CONTENTS.

Tohunga, a term of many applications. Functions of a priest. Female *tohunga*. Remarks of early writers. Priests as mediums. Priests of superior order were repositories of learning. Different orders of priesthood. Status of superior priests. Demoniacal possession. Alleged marvellous powers of priests. Priestly power over elements. Nudity of priest essential in important ceremonies. *Tapu* of priests. *Tuahu*. Lack of temples and altars. *Mua*. Stern simplicity essential. Different forms of *tuahu*. The *ahurewa*. Village latrine and its strange uses. The *wai tapu*. The *marae* of Tahiti. Divination. The seers of Maoriland. Profound faith in signs. Oracular utterances. Importance of divinatory rites. Their universal use. Loss of *tapu* deprives a seer of spiritual sight. Signs from gods seen in trivial occurrences. The *papa* of a prophecy. Te Rehu-o-Tainui desolates Taupo. The red cloak of Orona. Mohaka's raid on Ruatahuna. Heroic death of Titau. Female seers. Fasting by seers. Prophecies that failed. Why Orakau fell. The many methods of *niu*. Divination in sickness. In war. The *raurau* rite. Prophecies of coming of white men. The initiation of a seer. High-class ritual. The strange world of barbaric man.

THE *tohunga maori*, or native priest, was ever an important personage in a village community, and his influence was a far-reaching activity. The word *tohunga* denotes an expert, a skilled person, not necessarily a priest or shaman; thus any expert, such as an artisan, may be termed a *tohunga*. A canoe-hewing expert is a *tohunga tarai waka;* a tattooing expert, a *tohunga ta moko;* an expert house-builder, a *tohunga whaihanga;* and so on. Priestly adepts of all classes, from those of the superior cult of Io down to wizards and low-class shamanistic frauds, were all termed *tohunga*. Each grade had, however, a specific name formed by some explanatory term, as *tohunga ahurewa* (a high-class priestly expert), *tohunga makutu* (a wizard), &c.

The activities of the Maori priesthood, if such a term be permissible, extended into all industries, institutions, and functions of native life. The *tohunga* took the place of the doctor, and often controlled operations in war; his services were considered necessary in agriculture, in sea-voyaging, in house-building, and practically all occupations. This was so because, in any enterprise, however trivial, it was considered highly necessary to have the favour of the gods. Hence there were ceremonial performances, charms, or invocations pertaining to all activities, even such acts as the felling of a tree, snaring birds, fishing, &c. All persons had a budget of useful charms at their command for minor purposes, but the village *tohunga* controlled or performed all ceremonial that was deemed important.

We occasionally hear of a woman acting as a *tohunga*, but apparently they were not allowed to practise the higher branches of the profession, merely those coming under the head of shamanism. We know of a number of cases in which women acted as mediums of *atua*. Among these are several cases wherein cacodemons (spirits of still-born children) were conciliated and invoked as *atua* by the mothers, who thus acted as mediums for spirit gods who may be said to have been their own offspring.

We have on record many remarks made by early writers concerning our worthy *tohunga maori*, and many illustrations of his methods. The great majority of such illustrations, however, will come under other headings.

In the account of his third voyage Captain Cook says of the Maori, "They have no such thing as *morais* [*marae*], or other places of public worship; nor do they ever assemble together with this view. But they have priests, who alone address the gods in prayers for the prosperity of their temporal affairs, such as an enterprise against a hostile tribe, a fishing-party, or the like." The reference to *marae* refers to the pyramidal stone structures of the Society Group. Cook would not be aware of the fact that any man might appeal to *atua* in connection with minor matters.

The Rev. James Buller tells us, in his *Forty Years in New Zealand*, that "An order of men, similar to priests, called *ariki*, were thought to have communion with the gods: these were their principal chiefs. Another class of wise men, called *tohunga*, were also credited with great influence with the unseen: some were ventriloquists, which greatly magnified their power. The *matakite*, or seers, were analogous to the clairvoyant. The *tohunga* had recourse to spells, omens, and auguries. He was the official organ of the minds of deities. He used incantations and professed to be inspired." The *ariki* alluded to above were the first-born of families of rank, and such men usually acquired a considerable amount of sacerdotal lore and high-class knowledge, though they were not necessarily priests. It has been believed by certain writers that some of the old-time *tohunga* were acquainted with ventriloquism.

The Rev. W. Yate, in his *Account of New Zealand*, states that there was no regular priesthood "though there are many who assume the title of priest, and almost any person may perform their various superstitious ceremonies, or repeat their prayers, or consult their oracles, or charm their sick. . . . It is evident that, as no gods are worshipped, their priests cannot attain to any great importance. Having little hold on the senses, and none on the conscience, the priest is no more regarded than the meanest slave." The above remarks convey quite a wrong impression. Only inferior or less important ceremonies and ritual could be operated by any person; superior ritual was in the hands of the few. Gods were not worshipped, but it was highly necessary to placate them and seek their favour, and this was done to a considerable extent. As to having no hold on the senses, the *tohunga* had much influence in that direction, the basic cause of which was gross superstition. To put even the average *tohunga* on the same level as a slave is an absurdity. Low-class ceremonial certainly was not connected with morality, but morality did enter into some higher forms.

The lower class of *tohunga*, shamans of the *tohunga kehua* type, were not very important persons in the community, though their alleged powers of second sight and of exorcising demons afflicting the sick gave them some influence. The superior class of *tohunga* included men who were considered highly important members of the community, inasmuch as they had the principal control of any action of importance. Those who were what may be called "general practitioners" were the advisers of the people in all matters save common everyday routine. They acted as seers in explaining omens, unusual natural phenomena, and in divinatory ceremonial. They attended to the sick—though they probably did them little good, owing to gross superstitious beliefs and general ignorance. Though ignorant of the art of medicine, and perhaps averse to it, they had, however, some rude skill in surgery. They controlled the art of agriculture; they performed all ceremonial connected with *tapu*, with war, peace-making, house-building, canoe-making, fishing, bird-snaring, &c. They conserved all knowledge of the past; they were the repositories and teachers of all occult knowledge and tribal lore, religion, and myth. They were the astrologers, not only in connection with astrolatry, but also as concerning weather conditions, seasons, and the art of navigation. Some of their observations and conclusions may be placed in the department of astronomy. Some of the old-time *tohunga* were famed song-composers, and their duties as historians of a scriptless people demanded very remarkable powers of memory. The ritual pertaining to birth and death was in the hands of the priests, and the number of charms and invo-

cations memorized by such men strikes our minds with amazement. The long tribal genealogies, with their many ramifications and branches, containing thousands of names, were also preserved orally by such men. Some of our writers seem to believe that the *tohunga* of old were acquainted with hypnotism and telepathy.

Inasmuch as the *tohunga* were the mediums of the gods, and acted as go-betweens between the people and the many gods and demons of native belief, it follows that alleged consultations with such beings were very numerous. The answers of the complacent deities was often divulged to the people in the form of a song, of which many are on record. *Tohunga* of the superior type were ever intensely *tapu*, and this meant many restrictions. They could not enter any common place such as a cooking-hut, nor was any food allowed within their dwelling-huts; such men ate alone, and in the open. Any residue of such a meal had to be deposited in a special place, for to interfere with it in any way was a perilous undertaking. Tradition tells us of a *tohunga* who was so exceedingly *tapu* that if his shadow was cast on a hut that place had to be immediately destroyed.

The Maori of to-day lays much stress on the fact that our ministers of religion demanded payment for their services, whereas the native priest of yore was much less grasping and more altruistic in his dealings with his fellow-men. But, although the Maori priest did not demand payment by a medium that did not exist, yet he received payment in kind for his services—such articles as garments and food products.

A *tohunga* who was also the first-born member of a high-class family was a person of much influence on account of his possessing *mana ariki* (aristocratic prestige) as well as that pertaining to his profession. Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, remarks: "The priesthood, the ambassadors of the gods on earth, were derived from the noblest families in the land, and in every nation [tribe] there were several priests. The offices of chief and priest were generally united and hereditary." These statements need moderating, for the first remark applies only to the upper order of *tohunga*. The principal chief of a tribe or clan might also be a *tohunga*, but many of the latter, of the lower grades, were by no means of high social rank, but ordinary members of the community. Above all, a high-class priest possessed *mana atua* derived from the gods, of whom he was the mouthpiece.

The respect showed towards *tohunga* and superior chiefs was a marked quantity, and was undoubtedly due in no small measure to the belief that such men were *taunga atua* (abiding-places of the gods). Thus it is, as Frazer has shown in his *Psyche's Task*, that superstition has ever been an important factor in the preservation of order. In his *Origin of the Polynesian Race* the late Judge Fenton wrote: "The office of priest or *tohunga*, who was principally charged with the duty of handing down the nationa and family histories, was always, amongst the Polynesians, an office of high dignity, and he was protected by a perpetual *tapu* of the most rigorous character. So venerated and feared was the *tohunga* that he was often liable to die of starvation, from the difficulty of going through such a vulgar and unsanctified process as eating; for everything he touched became *tapu*. When he drank, he had to make a funnel of his hands, into which another person poured water. Had the calabash touched his lips, it must have been destroyed."

It is unfortunate that the term *tohunga* is applied alike to the priests of the superior cult of Io and to low-class shamanistic jugglers, practisers of black magic, &c. It causes much confusion in the student's mind, and might well lead to very erroneous conclusions. The same remark applies to the word *atua*, which denotes not only such a superior conception as that of Io, the Supreme Being, but also low-class deities, demons, and even anything detestable or terrifying, such as a person of evil disposition or a malignant disease.

In his *Story of New Zealand* Dr. Thomson remarks of the *tohunga* class: "As they spent much of their time in intellectual exercise, they were consequently the most intelligent body of men in the country, and, like the monks in the dark ages, they engrossed all the learning the people possessed. No dress or mark distinguished the priesthood from the laity; and it is singular that without temples, stated festivals or sacred days, to strengthen their zeal and increase their learning by society, they could have maintained such a high reputation for wisdom." Needless to say that Thomson was referring to the superior type of *tohunga*.

Colonel Gudgeon, in his paper on the *tohunga maori* (see *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 16, p. 65), has written: "From the foregoing it will be plain to my readers that those chosen as the recipients of the traditionary lore of the tribe were mentally superior to their fellow-tribesmen. Only the very clever boys were chosen as *tauira* (scholars), and of these but few completed the severe course of training in the *whare maire* (school of instruction), for the reason that it required a very able man to retain and assimilate the vast stock of tribal history, songs, *karakia*, and genealogical information which was absolutely necessary before a man could start in life as a first-class *tohunga*."

The priestly profession was not necessarily hereditary; it would entirely depend upon the inclinations and ability of a *tohunga's* son as to whether he followed his sire's profession or not.

The fact that there existed among the Maori no system of regular worship, and no universal methods or practices in dealing with gods, led to each individual doing much as he pleased in regard to the performance of ceremonies, &c. So it came about that such latitude caused many differences in belief, in ritual, and in teachings. Hence we have differing versions of myths, customs, ceremonies, &c., on record as collected in different districts.

Attention may here be drawn to the fact that we found the Maori in an interesting stage of development in regard to several phases of his religious beliefs. As a society advances in culture a sacerdotal class comes into being, and in barbaric communities such a priesthood often has a voice in temporal affairs as well as controlling all matters concerning religion. Our Maori folk possessed a form of priesthood the members of which wore no distinctive dress, and did not dwell in self-contained communities; they lived among the people, and were general advisers on practically all subjects. The universal intrusion of religion into all activities, all callings and industries, meant that the priest was an important person in regard to all of them. In addition to this he took his place among other men of standing in managing the social affairs of the community. These remarks apply only to *tohunga* of the higher type, not to low-class sorcerers and shamans.

The *mana atua* of a priest, his powers of divination, second sight, exorcism, placation, &c., all emanate from the *atua* of which he is the medium. Should, however, anything occur to defile his *tapu* he would lose such powers, and would be forced to adjust matters by conciliation of the *atua*.

The following list of names or titles of *tohunga* as priests has been made up from different sources. It does not include such *tohunga* as were merely expert artisans, such as *tohunga whairanga*:—

Tohunga ahurewa; tohunga tuahu—a first-grade priest.
Tohunga taua—a high-class priest.
Tohunga pukenga—an instructor, as of occult lore.
Tohunga tuaropaki—an acolyte.
Tohunga puri—a wizard, &c.
Tohunga tauira—a junior priest; one still under tuition; an acolyte.
Tohunga matatuhi, or *matakite*, or *titiro mata*—a seer.
Tohunga ruanuku; tohunga makutu—a wizard.
Tohunga kehua; tohunga kiato—a low-class shaman.
Tohunga kokorangi; tohunga tatai arorangi—astronomical expert.

In addition to these descriptive names, as they may be termed, for priests, we also encounter the expressions *amokapua* and *amorangi* as denoting a priest; also *pouwhiro*, a priest; *pouwhenua*, a high-grade priest; and *horomatua*, a priest of the third grade. The title of *whatu* was applied to the principal priestly teacher of the *whare wananga*, or high school of learning; and a lone note states that *ahorangi* was a form of title applied to teachers in that remarkable school. A writer in the *Monthly Review* (vol. 1) gives *ara tawhiti* as a title of the old-time priest. In Governor King's account of New Zealand he remarks that a Maori priest was called the *tangaroa*. This was probably an error.

When a young man entered the school of learning in order to qualify as a first-grade *tohunga*, or priest, he was termed a *pia*, as a neophyte or beginner. As he acquired knowledge he became a *tāura*, having advanced a step; in the next stage he became a *tauira*, an acolyte, as it were, and in this class he might take part in religious ceremonial as an assistant to a *tohunga tuahu* or *tohunga taua*. The Rev. W. Gill tells us that at Mangaia "priests were significantly named 'god-boxes' (*pia atua*)," so that evidently the word *pia* has there a similar meaning to that of our local word *waka* (the medium of a god). The word *taura* is employed to denote a priest in the Paumotu dialect, and at Samoa *taula* is a priest. This word has apparently no connection with *tāura*, a cord or rope ("anchor" in Samoan); and the Rev. J. B. Stairs's rendering of *taula aitu* as "anchors of the spirits" does not seem to be justified. In like manner the rendering of the words *waka* and *pia* as "box" impinges upon the absurd when they are employed in connection with *atua*. They mean "medium" in such cases. At Niue Island the expression *taula atua* denoted a priest. The Maori words *waka atua* denote the medium of a spirit or *atua*; *kauwaka*, *papa*, and *kaupapa* being synonyms of *waka*. At Futuna Island the term is *vaka atua*. *Williams's Maori Dictionary* gives *tohunga papa kikokiko*, which is apparently equivalent to *tohunga kehua*.

The term *wananga* was applied to such *tohunga* as were conservers and teachers of esoteric lore, and that of *pu* to a skilled, wise person, one possessing much knowledge. One hears the title of *pu korero* applied to a person possessing much knowledge of tribal history, &c. The terms *puri*, *ruanuku*, *matatuhi*, *pukenga*, and *tauira* in themselves denote priestly adepts, and are not necessarily preceded by the word *tohunga*. Mr. C. O. Davis has told us that in the olden times there were the *pu tohunga* (chief priests), and *tohunga* (ordinary priests). The disciples of these priests were taught the Maori ritual in sacred houses set apart for that particular purpose. The more intelligent of the disciples were selected to become priests, but the less hopeful were dismissed.

A person destined to be educated as a *tohunga* of the first rank was *tapu* from infancy, from the hour of his birth; indeed, he might be *tapu* prior to birth.

A high-class *tohunga* occupied a very important position in the tribe. He it was who conducted all important ceremonies of a religious nature. He was generally a member of a family of good standing, and not infrequently one of the leading chiefs. He was in some cases an *ariki* of the principal family, in which he possessed the *mana* of both *ariki* and *tohunga*. Such a man often pronounced the final word in tribal disputes, and on his plaza were guests received.

Our *tohunga* of the higher class was entrusted with all the more important ritual performances, such as the offering of *tapu* objects to the gods, as also the firstfruits of birds, fish, cultivated and uncultivated foods, the conduct of ceremonies pertaining to war, to sickness, and all *tapu* things.

The title of *pouwhiro* appears to have been applied to the principal *tohunga* of a place among the Ngati-Ruanui Tribe of Taranaki.

What is often termed "demoniac possession" was fairly common among inferior *tohunga*, but does not seem to have been indulged in by high-class priests, such as *tohunga ahurewa*. It is essentially a shamanistic practice, and of course the object was

to impress the people, who believed that the *atua* had really entered the body of the *tohunga*. Such possession by an *atua* is described by the word *uru*, a term meaning "to enter, to possess." The Tahitian dictionary gives the same word as meaning "to be inspired." Evidences of such possession were the same the world over apparently, and the Rev. R. Taylor's description of the Maori medium under such supposed inspiration is as good as any: "The priest, when inspired, was really thought to have the spirit of the god in him; his body was violently agitated, he writhed as in great pain, rolled about his eyes, his arms quivered, and he seemed insensible to all external objects; then every word spoken was attributed to the god," &c. This performance was sometimes gone through for purposes of divination. A medium under the supposed influence of an *atua* generally assumed an incoherent, wild manner of speech, described by the Maori as *porewarewa*. The lower the grade of the *tohunga* the more extravagant and shamanistic, apparently, were his actions.

Even among the higher orders of *tohunga* we find that such men claimed to possess very extraordinary powers, as, for example, power to influence natural phenomena. They were believed to possess the power of causing a thunderstorm and rain; of controlling the winds, the ocean, &c.; of causing a solar or lunar halo to appear; and many other things of a marvellous nature. It is thus seen that the conjurer priest was an important person in Maori ceremonial. In what may be termed the higher-class ritual we find that such impossible acts were held to be included in priestly powers, and to form a part of ceremonial performances. Thus, in the undoubtedly impressive ritual pertaining to the baptism of infants of important families, we note that the final act of the *tohunga* is said to have been the singular *ohorangi* rite, the causing of thunder to sound. This was looked upon as a most effectual climax to important ceremonies. All of these supernormal acts were, of course, believed to be rendered possible by the powers of the *atua* or gods.

When Manaia and Nuku landed at Pae-kakariki after their memorable sea-fight off Pukerua, it was arranged that their quarrel should be settled the following day by means of single combat. That night, however, Te Ao-whaingaroa seems to have taken advantage of his powers as a wizard to destroy his enemies by magic arts; he was the *tohunga* of "Tokomaru," the vessel of Manaia. By means of his dread powers he raised such a terrific storm that most of Nuku's companions perished therefrom. So severe was the gale that sand and gravel were carried far inland from the sea-beach, such having been the origin of the sandhills now seen along the coast-line towards Otaki. Hence that stretch of coast-line received the name of Te One-ahuahu-a-Manaia.

Some of our writers on Maori matters believe that the power of hypnotism was possessed and practised by *tohunga* of former times; and certainly acts performed by natives of Tahiti, of the nature of what is termed by some "the mango trick" of India, lead us to think that the belief may be justified. In this connection some notes of interest may be found in vol. 29 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, pp. 133, 152. If, as is asserted by some writers, *tohunga* of old were both ventriloquists and hypnotists, then little wonder that their ignorant followers were deeply impressed by their performances.

The *tohunga* influences the gods by reciting magic formulae, by offerings, and certain ceremonial performances, all of which were of a conciliatory nature.

The belief in the powers of *tohunga* of *mana* to produce the phenomena of solar and lunar haloes was, and is, firm in the Maori mind. In old narratives we hear of several instances in which such an act was performed to serve as a message to friends far distant—truly a marvellous mode of neolithic signalling! When Whatonga left Rangiatea in order to return to his home at Tahiti, the chief of the former isle said to him, "When your vessel reaches your homeland, send me two signs, the *kura hau awatea* and *kura hau po* (solar halo and lunar halo), that I may know that you have reached home safely." Even so, when Whatonga arrived at Tahiti, he requested the priests to cause the two *kura* to appear in the heavens.

Another interesting illustration of such beliefs appears in the tradition of Tama-ahua, he who came to this land from eastern Polynesia with Whatonga in the vessel named "Kurahaupo." When he was about to return to Tahiti he said to his sister Tapuwae, who was living at Taranaki, "Farewell! Abide here in your new home. As for me, I return to our old home at Hawaiki; but look you ever to the east and you will see my *ahua* [semblance, likeness] appear in the red dawn. You will then know that I have reached the place where the red sun gleams at Hawaiki." So he departed, and on reaching his old and far-distant home he caused the red light of dawn to appear on the Pouakai Range: thus his sister knew that he had reached his destination.

A great grandson of Tama-ahua, one Wharematangi by name, provides us with still another illustration of these alleged powers. When Whare left his mother at Mokau in order to seek his father at Taranaki, he said to her, "Farewell! Should I safely reach my destination, then the sea-spray will bring me back to you. Fret not for me, but watch the dawn two days hence. Should you see the red glow of Venus, you may know that I have safely arrived. Should you fail to see it you may know that I have been stricken down by the hand of man or by Maiki-roa; then do you send me the sign of the *kura hau awatea* to comfort me in Rarohenga [the spirit-world]."

In the event of a tribesman losing his life outside the tribal bounds, or of his being slain at some place not located, a *tohunga* would proceed to cause the bones of the dead to disclose their whereabouts. He effected his object by means of *karakia*, or charms, and caused the bones of the dead to "resound" (*hu*), wherever they might be. A reference to such an act occurs in the famous lament for Te Mautaranui:—

> Tarahau nga wheua, e, tarahau ki runga o Mohaka;
> Tarahau nga iwi, e, tarahau ki runga o Tangitu.

In performing some ceremonies a *tohunga* wore no clothing save a kilt, the upper part of the body being naked. But when participating in the higher forms of ritual, especially those in which the Supreme Being was invoked, the priests divested themselves of all clothing, and wore nothing but a few green branchlets or some such material, as a temporary *maro*, or apron. In some cases, during the recital of the ritual they stood erect with arms extended outward, but slanting upward, with palms of hands uppermost. Other attitudes and gestures adopted will be explained in the accounts given of various ceremonial performances.

This custom of putting off all clothing when engaged in the performance of religious ceremonies is found far afield. In his work on the natives of Northern India Mr. Crooke remarks that two conditions of successful magic are that the body of the performer should be nude, and that the hair should be loose and flowing: "The natives regard the removal of the clothing as an extreme act of submission to the deity whom they address. But the analogy of similar instances of ritual nudity in India seems to show that pollution is at the root of the matter."

The feeling as to the necessity of nudity in the performance of religious ceremonies was strong, and was connected, of course, with *tapu*. Clothing pertains to this world and common, everyday life; it may have been in contact with unclean influences. Scholars entering the sacred school of learning were compelled to divest themselves of their garments outside the house, enter the house in a nude condition, and reclothe themselves with special garments kept in the house for such occasions. In some cases religious ceremonies were performed in what was considered a pure element, the water of a running stream. This is termed the *wai matua o Tuapapa* (the pure element of the Earth Mother). The nude priest took his stand in the waters of the flowing stream in order to be spiritually insulated, as it were.

Life must have been somewhat irksome to such a *tapu* person as a high-class *tohunga;* the fact of his always having to be fed by another person must have been

trying. In like manner, he could not take up a water-vessel and drink therefrom, for such an act would render the vessel so *tapu* that no one else could use it, and very few might touch it. So that, when such a man wished to drink, an attendant poured water into his (the priest's) hands as he held them in cupped form to his mouth. Also, such a person could not blow a fire to make it burn up; with a host of other restrictions that, to a person of energy, must have been most harassing.

We are told in *Te Ika a Maui* that prayer and medicine were combined by the *tohunga maori;* but true prayer was almost unknown here, and medicines were seldom, if ever, administered by them in pre-European times.

It has been the writer's good fortune to have known several old natives who in their youth had been trained as high-class *tohunga*—such men as Rakuraku and Tutaka-ngahau, of the Tuhoe Tribe. Their education had not been completed, for the adoption of Christianity had cut it short; yet they possessed much information, as of old-time ritual and customs; in fact, to a collector they were mines of knowledge. To the last-mentioned the writer is indebted for much curious and interesting information concerning old native customs, more especially the ritual formulae employed by the *tohunga tuahu* of yore.

We have already seen that women never acted as *tohunga* of the higher ranks, but that occasionally one might act as the medium of fourth-class *atua*, such as a cacodemon. Women did, however, take part in certain ritual performances such as must assuredly be termed religious ceremonies. For such purposes women of high-class families only were employed. Thus, when the *tapu* was taken off a new house to enable it to be utilized, a woman was the first person to step across the threshold. She was employed in a similar manner when the *tapu* was lifted from a new *pa*, or fortified place. When a man had the misfortune to displease or antagonize an *atua*, he became deprived of his spiritual *mana*, as it were. The protection of the gods was withdrawn, and he was left powerless—helpless against magic arts and other evil influences. If a *matatuhi*, or seer, he would at once lose his powers of second sight, thus becoming what is termed *kahupo* and *hinapo*. He would no longer be able to detect warnings of danger sent by the gods—a truly deplorable and dangerous condition, and one that could not be allowed to continue. It would be necessary to *whakaepa* (conciliate) the gods, so as to regain their favour and protection. One curious act performed by men who had thus been deprived of supernatural protection was as follows: The affected person laid himself on the ground, and a woman of a leading family stepped over him. Women possessed peculiar powers in certain directions.

Any woman employed as an assistant in religious ceremonies was called a *ruahine* while so acting. A childless woman was apparently sought for such purposes, and it was necessary that she should be a member of a chieftain family. The first-born female of such a family was selected to act as a *ruahine* in most cases. Another task that was often assigned to such a woman was the eating of such article of food as was employed in *tapu*-lifting ceremonies. In some cases, as in the *pure* rite, a special oven was made wherein to cook food for the *ruahine*, in connection with the ceremonial feast. It was called the *umu ruahine*.

Tuahu.

The student of Maori lore looks in vain for any evidence of the use of temples, altars, or any elaborate or permanent erection used in connection with religious ceremonial in former times. In certain parts of Polynesia, as at the Society and Sandwich Groups, the Polynesian folk erected massive stone structures and enclosures in connection with their religion, but we look in vain for any such places in New Zealand. Here no form of building was ever erected to serve as a temple for service or offerings. The places set aside as *tuahu*, or sacred places, were in some cases, apparently, not marked in any way. Sometimes a rough, unworked stone, or several such stones, were set up at such

A Tuahu, or Sacred Place, near Rotorua Lake.

[*To face p. 171.*

a place, but otherwise the place would be allowed to remain practically in its natural state. Occasionally, we are told, a small platform of sticks, termed a *tiepa*, was erected at such a place, on which offerings to the gods were placed. I find the following notes on these *tapu* places in my notebooks :—

In some cases a *tuahu* was marked by a heap of rough unworked stones, and sometimes by one or more blocks of stone set upright, partially embedded in the earth. The term *tuahu* seems to have been applied, by some clans at least, to any place where men's hair is cut, where *tapu* food is cast away or offered to supernatural beings, or where any religious ceremony is performed. The *turuma*, or village latrine, served the purpose of a *tuahu* in some cases.

In Mr. John White's published matter and unprinted notes we find the word *mua* applied to a *tuahu*, and also to the carved figures used as temporary shrines. We can find no justification for its use as a name for such a shrine, but as a synonym for *tuahu* it is nearer the mark. In this wise : *mua* is the antithesis of *muri ; mua* = the front, before ; *muri* = the rear, behind, after. Any common *noa* place may be alluded to as *muri*, or *ki muri ;* hence *muri* and *kamuri* are terms applied to a cooking-shed. "*Heria nga kai ki muri*" = "convey the food to the rear"—*i.e.*, to the back regions, the site of kitchens, the place void of *tapu*. In like manner *mua* may denote any select residence or area, as at Vavau *mua* is that part of a village inhabited by the chiefs. So that any *tapu* place, *tuahu* included, may be alluded to as *mua*. In Mr. White's matter, however, *mua* is used as a proper personal name, as the name of a person is used (*e.g.*, "*Ka heria ki a Mua*"), and for this usage we can find no authority whatever. In other cases he uses the expression *ki te mua*, which is also a doubtful quantity. The only form ever heard by the present writer is *ki mua*, and it is the only form to which no exception can be taken. At the Hawaiian Isle a structure in the *heiau* was known as *mua*.

Among the illustrations prepared for John White's *Ancient History of the Maori* is one of "a *tuahu* and six *hara*." This has no connection with the Maori *tuahu* whatever. It is an illustration of a sacred place at Tahiti, Society Group, that appeared originally in *Cook's Voyages*, and later in Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* and Rienzi's work. As to the so-called *hara*, or carved planks, we have no information to show that they represent any Maori usage.

The elevated platform on which offerings were placed was often termed a *whata*, the ordinary name for all similar erections. The names *whata puaroa* and *whata roa* were also applied to such stages. In his work *Te Ika a Maui*, the Rev. R. Taylor speaks of three different stages being erected at a sacred place where religious ceremonies were performed, which stages were known as the Paiahua, Whitipana, and Pou-whakaturia. This appears to have been a Taranaki usage. It is explained that the *pouwhiro*, or principal priest, would perform his rites at one of these stages in a state of nudity. The place was enclosed by a fence or barrier of some kind, outside of which stood the *tauira*, or pupils of the priests. Outside these again were the people who assembled to view the proceedings. At the conclusion of the ceremony a feast was usually held, and such a meal was always of a ceremonial nature. Separate ovens were necessary in preparing food for persons of different classes and of differing degrees of *tapu*, for the Maori was very punctilious in such matters. The word signifying a steam-oven, *umu* (with its variant form *imu*) was often used to denote a rite, as was the word *ahi* (fire) when a *tapu* open fire was employed in the performance of religious ceremonies. Thus we have as well-known names of ritual performances the terms *imu waharoa*, *umu pongipongi*, and *ahi purakau*.

The word *pouahu* seems to be equivalent to *tuahu*, but is of restricted use. Old natives of the Bay of Plenty district are acquainted with it. A famed one is said to have been situated at Whakatane. Some such places seem to have had special names assigned to them, such as Ahurei, a famous sacred place at Maketu, Kawhia. These

tapu places were usually situated at some little distance away from a village, at a retired spot which no person approached at ordinary times. Such an act of trespass was strongly resented, and for an unauthorized person to walk over such a spot was equivalent to risking death at the hands of the gods. Indeed, physical maladies were often assigned to such a cause, the committing of a *hara*, an infringement of the rules of *tapu*.

It is interesting to note that there were several differing forms of *tuahu* in former times. Some were utilized only for the performance of high-class ceremonies; such was the *ahurewa*. Others, as the *rua-iti*, seem to have been resorted to only for such evil purposes as the destruction of life. There appears also to have been an intermediary type of place at which ordinary ceremonial was performed, such as that pertaining to various industries, and to war, which itself may be said to have been a native industry.

The *ahurewa* was certainly a very important place, apparently the most important of all *tuahu*. It was often a real place, but the term seems to have been also applied to certain conditions, and even to persons, such as a high-grade *tohunga*, or priest. The late Colonel Gudgeon stated that, under certain circumstances, the *ahurewa* may be anywhere. It sometimes denotes such a condition as when a man places himself unreservedly in the power of the gods. Human powers are no longer of avail, and he leaves the matter to the gods entirely, with such a remark as "*Ki a koe, e Rehua!*" ("To thee, O Rehua!"). Hakiaha, the most learned man of the Whanganui district, agreed with the foregoing definition.

One native authority asserts that the *tapu* place called the *ahurewa* might be situated out in the open, or it might be within a hut specially erected for the purpose; such a hut or house would be called a *whare tuahu*. Among the Takitumu folk of the east coast of our North Island the *ahurewa* was not alluded to as a *tuahu*, though it served the purposes of one. It was not located out-of-doors, but within the *whare wananga*, or *tapu* school of learning, at the rearmost of the three posts supporting the ridge-pole. Such place was marked by one or more stones, an account of which appears in the description of the *whare wananga*. The ceremonies pertaining to the teaching of *tapu* knowledge to youths were performed at this *ahurewa*. Nor is it a modern institution, inasmuch as we are told that, when Tane visited the realm of Io, the *pure* ceremony was performed over him at the *ahurewa*.

The *ahurangi* is said to have been another form of *tuahu*, but we have no information as to its peculiarities. The word *ahu* itself was employed to denote a mound used in the performance of certain ceremonies; it was sometimes called a *puke*. *Ahupuke* is yet another term for a *tuahu*, perhaps a distinctive form. In an account of the *rua torino* rite of black magic given in vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 169, the *ahupuke* is alluded to as a place at which the rite was performed. In his account of the old-time fortified native villages of the Maori Mr. W. H. Skinner, in vol. 20 of the same *Journal*, tells us that a sacred place might be found within the village limits, and perhaps near the residence of the high chieftain of the ceremony. He proceeds: "This was the sacred place of the *pa*, the *tuahu tapatai* (sacred altar). It was a small enclosure fenced round with high posts, in which was an erection called the *pou tapu*, in the form of a canoe-end fixed in the ground. Into this enclosure only the priest entered, except when for any purpose some one of the people desired the aid of the priest. Under such circumstances he was allowed within whilst the incantations were going on. This sacred spot or pillar was also called *pou whakatipua*, or *pou whakakikiwa*. When, however, the sacred spot or pillar, the *pou tapu*, was situated near the *waharoa*, or main gateway, as it should be, then near it was kept the *waka*, or receptacle (usually a wooden box) in which the emblem of the particular god of the tribe or *pa* was kept. It was from this sacred enclosure that the priest addressed the people when the will of the gods required to be made known. There was a particular kind of receptacle called *kawiu*, a

pataka on a pole, where the *waka* of the god was kept." It is thus seen that a *tuahu* might be situated within the limits of a village, or it might be outside it, possibly at some very secluded place. The term "altar," applied above to these places, sounds somewhat grandiose when we know that they were remarkable for lack of any altar-like aspect. In vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 83, is an account of the performance of magic rites at a *tuahu tapatahi*, a mode of spelling not usually employed. It is stated that such a place was also known as a *tuahu hauora* when used for the performance of ceremonies pertaining to life and welfare. Such a place is said to have been simply a small mound of earth. Such mounds, termed *ahu* and *puke*, often figured in Maori ceremonial.

Another term applied to *tuahu* is *kauhanganui*. It is alluded to at p. 207 of vol. 3 of the *Polynesian Journal*, where Tarakawa says: "There were many kinds of *tuahu:* one is the *tapatai;* another is the *ahupuke;* another is the *torino;* another is the *ahurewa*—a useful one, for it can be moved about; also the *ahurangi*, which succours man; indeed, a priest can utilize his own hand as a *tuahu* for his charms." In cases where a *tuahu* was moved to another site, some of the earth of the place was taken to the new site. In the same volume of the above *Journal*, at p. 152, appears an account of a sorcerer named Kaihamu utilizing his own hand as a *tuahu* to impart *mana* to his spells of magic. This resourceful person was confined in a house surrounded by enemies. Having no *tuahu* at hand, he employed his cupped hand as a substitute, recited his charms, and thrust them forth through the window-space—a peculiar gesture. The act was effective, and Kaihamu escaped. We thus see that to recite ritual at a *tuahu* imparted *mana*, or power, to such ritual, and this would be the result of locating a certain *atua* (god or gods) at such place.

A good native authority has told us that the form of sacred place termed an *ahurewa* was likewise known as *ahumairangi*. In some cases *tuahu* were situated at places difficult of access, such as precipitous places. A great many ceremonies pertaining to birth, sickness, death, war, and innumerable other subjects were performed at such places, a number of which will be explained later on. A person would pride himself on being able to say, "I was taken to such a *tuahu* at birth to have the *tua* rite performed over me." This was a mild species of boast, a *karanga whakai*.

It is a very singular fact that the *turuma*, or latrine, of a village was often utilized as a place at which to perform what we must term religious ceremonies. Rites connected with many matters were there conducted. We are told that the reason for this strange procedure was that it was a place where interruption was improbable—a place steeped in a phase of *tapu;* trespassers would not trouble such a spot. I am strongly inclined to doubt this explanation, and believe that there is more behind it. Why should rites be performed at such a place? Moreover, the very latrine itself entered into the functions, as we note in the very extraordinary ceremony known as *ngau paepae*, in which a person was obliged to "bite" the horizontal beam of the latrine. The late learned man Tutakangahau gave me some very curious information concerning the peculiar views or beliefs connected with a latrine. The space behind the horizontal beam (*paepae*) seems to have been called the *kouka*, and in some way this represented death, while the space in front of the bar represented life. It seems possible to the writer that the strange attitude of the Maori towards the *turuma* originated in his belief in the inherent powers of the generative organs—of which more anon.

Allied to the *tuahu* was another form of sacred place at which ceremonies were performed. This was the *wai tapu* of a hamlet, a stream or pond at or in which *tapu* rites were performed. Such a stream, or a portion of it, was set aside for such purposes, as it were, and viewed as a place not to be trespassed on. The names of *wai kotikoti* and *wai whakaika* were applied to such streams among the Matatua folk of the Bay of Plenty district, but they were usually alluded to simply as *wai tapu*, a name denoting

that such places were set aside for a special purpose and might not be trespassed on. A considerable number of religious ceremonies were performed at such streams, lustration and immersion forming an important feature in Maori ritual.

The terms *uruahu* and *uruuru tapu* are given in *Williams's Maori Dictionary* as being equivalent to *tuahu*. Tregear's *Maori Comparative Dictionary* gives *tuahu* as the name of a part of a *marae* at Tahiti, and *ahu* as a Marquesas Islands term for a sacred place. In Mrs. Routledge's work on Easter Island we are told that the old stone platforms of that weird isle are called *ahu*. The Tahitian *marae* was an erection in the form of a truncated pyramid, built in a series of steps on which priests of different grades are said to have stationed themselves during the performance of ceremonies. The name is applied to a plaza or open space in a village or in front of a house in New Zealand and also in Polynesia, so that it is quite possible that the name was not applied to the actual stone edifice, but to the place where it was situated, or the open space before it. In a reference made to the Polynesian stone edifices termed *marae*, Colonel Gudgeon has told us that the *tauira* were stationed above the people—*i.e.*, on one of the lower steps or platforms—and the *pukenga* above the *tauira*, while above all was the chief priest of the god to whom the edifice was dedicated. If these stone pyramids were constructed in eastern Polynesia prior to the departure of the ancestors of the New Zealand Maori from those parts, then they represent one of the Polynesian institutions that were not introduced here. No such erections have been known in New Zealand, where we find none of the stone platforms, statues, &c., that are found in various parts of the Pacific. The only stonework met with in New Zealand are the stone-faced scarps seen at the sites of old-time fortified villages. In such cases the stones employed are merely rough, unworked boulders. It is a singular and very interesting fact that the Polynesian immigrants to these isles discarded certain customs, &c., of their former home, and evolved or adopted others that were unknown there. An explanation of these changes would assuredly throw much light on the question of the original peopling of New Zealand.

The Moriori folk of the Chatham Islands had the same name, *tuahu*, for *tapu* places, as also another name, *tuwhatu*, for what was apparently a similar place, a spot marked by a stone, where offerings to *atua* were deposited.

In his account of the natives of Niue Island Mr. S. Percy Smith tells us that "It is clear that there were places in former times which must, to a certain extent, have been sacred, where their rites were performed. These are called *tutu*, and are hillocks, more or less flat on top, and which present every appearance of being partly artificial. . . . In former times they were the sites of *faituga*." It is not shown that the *faituga* was anything in the form of a building, it was probably simply a *tuahu*. In eastern Polynesia the term *ranga* was applied to some such a sacred place.

Matakite; Divination.

As a noun the word *matakite* denotes a seer, any person believed to be possessed of second sight, one who practises divination; also any act of divination, or any utterance that embodies a prophecy or augury. The terms *mata* and *kite* are also employed separately to denote such an utterance, while *matatuhi* is used as is *matakite*, to define a seer. It is also used in an adjectival sense, as in *he tangata matatuhi* (an oracular person, one who practises divination). Such a diviner is also termed a *tangata titiro mata*, or *tohunga titiro mata*; in some cases the form *tirotiro mata* is used; *matamata aitu* also denotes a seer. The word *mata*, in ordinary speech, denotes the eye; *kite* means "to see, to discover, to perceive"; while *tiro* and *titiro* mean "to look."

The Maori had, and has, a very strong faith in signs and omens. He loves to see meaning in dreams, in certain manifestations of nature, in the actions of animals, in everything that his strange mentality could extract a meaning from. To his strangely constituted mind practically every activity held some hidden meaning. Thus it was that,

in order to meet a felt want, and doubtless to enhance their own importance, certain persons set themselves up as seers, and their business was to explain all signs and omens, also to practise divination by consulting the gods, and in other ways to foretell the future. There were assuredly different grades of these seers. Some were but tricksters of low status, shamanistic jugglers who performed sleight-of-hand tricks, and by kindred means gained influence over superstitious minds. Others, such as high-grade *tohunga*, apparently scorned the trade tricks of the *tohunga kehua* class, and confined themselves to more reputable functions. These also may have been imposters, but at least their activities were more dignified than those of the ordinary necromancer. Some Europeans claim that some of the old *tohunga* possessed extraordinary powers—that they employed both ventriloquism and hypnotism in their performances; but these things are not capable of proof.

In his remarks on native seers the Rev. R. Taylor wrote: "The *matakite*, or seers, pretend to do many supernatural things, and cause their gods to appear at pleasure, but from my personal knowledge of many I am persuaded they are ventriloquists, and thus deceive the people; although in some cases they may deceive themselves with the idea that the god is in them; generally, however, they are gross imposters who only seek gain or influence by their pretended powers." It would be unwise to include all *tohunga maori* as humbugs, however, and it is well to bear in mind that missionaries never acquired any knowledge of the superior phases of native beliefs and ritual.

Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, takes a different view, and writes: "The New Zealand priests were not rogues; they had a superstitious belief in their own powers, combined with a good deal of cunning, and ventriloquism was practised by them for professional purposes. When asked to foretell whether an expedition would prove successful, they generally awarded victory to the strongest battalions." In these remarks Thomson was evidently not referring to the low-class shaman, but to the superior class of *tohunga*.

The oracular utterances made by the mediums of spirit gods were treated with great respect by the Maori, and were firmly believed in. They were so believed in because they were held to emanate from the gods, who vouchsafed these warnings to man through their human mediums. Thus it may be said that divination was essentially a part of Maori religion. In certain divinatory acts performed by these mediums the result was as much a matter of chance as that of tossing up a coin, but they contained no element of chance in native belief; they were manifestations of the gods who live for ever. It will thus be seen that what would appear to us to be a childish act would be of very grave import to a native. Survivals of such old pagan beliefs and customs are found in the highest forms of religion of the present day.

The Maori seer of good standing was obliged to be exceedingly circumspect in his behaviour. Inasmuch as he was the human medium of an *atua*, he had to be very careful in regard to his own *tapu* condition. Any infringement of the laws of *tapu* simply meant the withdrawal of the favour of the gods, in which two misfortunes would be the lot of the hapless seer. In the first place he would be deprived of the power of second sight; he would also be reduced to an utterly defenceless condition in what may be termed a spiritual sense. His spiritual and even his physical welfare became exposed to all sorts of dangers, and, having lost the protecting power of the gods, dread Whiro might at any time strike him down—which means death. The first thought, then, of a person so situated was to regain the favour of the gods, and this was effected by means of conciliation, called *whakaepa*. He would make an offering to the offended *atua*, accompanied by a *karakia*, or ritual formula, a form of charm believed to possess the power of placating the estranged being. As an illustration of this kind of dilemma we may note the case of a seer who has been so imprudent as to recline on that part of a house-floor occupied by the women, or to use a woman's garment as a pillow. The consequence of such acts is that the *tapu* of the seer becomes polluted, and he is afflicted

by the condition termed *kahupo* (syn. *hinapo*)—that is, he becomes blind. Not blind so far as ordinary sight is concerned—that is expressed by *matapo* and *kapo;* but spiritually blind—that is, he is no longer able to see the warning signs of the gods, and has lost his powers as a medium.

The explanation given above goes to show that divination occupied a very important place in Maori life, and the faith in omens was equally strong. When a people believe that most trivial and natural activities are the result of a superior intelligence, then apparently nothing is too absurd to inspire faith in omens derived from such. The belief lying behind faith in trifling actions denoting the trend of future events, &c., is that the gods send warnings of future events to man in innumerable ways, and the seers have the task of interpreting the meaning of such warnings. The media utilized by the gods are somewhat startling in their wide range and diversity, extending from the appearance of stars to muscular twitchings of the human body; from crashing thunder in the heavens to the appearance of a lizard in one's path.

In many cases the oracular utterances believed to emanate from the gods were made known by the mediumistic seer in the form of a song. This applies to the more important subjects, and a number of such songs are now on record. Such a song would be sung by the seer to the people, and accompanied by explanations of its meanings. In the case of an expected fight the *kite* or *mata* —that is, the song of prophecy—was often adopted as a war-song for that particular expedition or engagement. It would be chanted as is a *peruperu* or *ngeri*—delivered in loud tones, with vehement emphasis, and accompanied by the fierce, ryhthmic gestures so dear to the Maori.

Another peculiar feature of some of these prophetic utterances concerning war is that of the *papa*. This term denotes some object that, according to the prophecy, must be seen, captured, or slain in order to secure a victory. This singular behest of the gods sometimes led, as may well be imagined, to very extraordinary actions being committed by an armed force. In order to illustrate this custom we may quote the case of the prophetic song pertaining to an expedition of the Tuhoe Tribe against the Taupo natives, a raid that occurred over a century ago. This song was made known by one Uhia, medium of the war-god Te Rehu-o-Tainui, a famed seer of Tuhoe. The song was employed as a war-chant by the warriors of that historic raid. It runs as follows:—

Ko wai te waka . . . e ?
Ko Te Hiahia te waka . . . e
Me he peke mai a Te Kiore
Ki runga ki nga taumata o Uru-kapua ra
Ki reira tirotiro ai. E . . . ha !

(What canoe is it ? The canoe is "Te Hiahia." Should Te Kiore but leap to the the crests of Uru-kapua, then shall we see.)

The explanation was that there were two *papa* connected with this act of divination. In the first place, a canoe named "Te Hiahia" must be seen, and a man named Te Kiore, clad in a red garment, must be found and slain, ere victory could be gained. To pursue any other course would ensure disaster to the expedition. No serious attack might be delivered until the two *papa* were secured. Quoth Uhia: "Fulfil the commands of the *atua* [god], and nought shall remain save the birds that ever drift upon the waters of Taupo-moana." Even so the raiders marched to Taupo to avenge a former raid on their own tribal district, and reached Orona, where the fortified village of Uru-kapua looked out upon the lake. The party was under the command of Uhia, who, as the medium of Te Rehu-o-Tainui, directed their actions. Thus for two days he would allow no attack to be made, but instructed his warriors merely to repel attacks made by the local natives. On the third day the raiders saw a canoe approach the shore, and in it was a man clad in a red cape. Here at last were the two *papa* of the prophecy, and, keenly excited, the savage bushmen of Tuhoe leaped to the ranks and thundered forth the roaring war-song

of Te Rehu. As the echo thereof rang out from the cliffs over the placid waters of Taupo, the canoe grounded, the raiders rushed to the fray, Te Kiore was slain, and the canoe was secured. Knowing full well that victory was assured, our raiders then attacked and took Uru-kapua, and then lifted the return trail to their rugged mountain home. The joy of the savage heart was theirs, for the raid of Taihakoa on Ruatahuna was avenged, and, in the exaggerated language of the Maori, "nought remained save the drifting waters of Taupo-moana."

When the Wairoa people attacked Tuhoe of Ruatahuna, one Mohaka was their prophet, and in his explanation of the dictum of the gods he said there were two *papa* of the *matakite*, a lone tree and a fair-haired person (*urukehu*). The first of these had to be seen, and the second captured, but not slain. At the first village attacked a man named Matangaua was pursued and caught near a lone tree on the Manawaru Range. As he was a fair-haired person the prophecy was in a fair way of being fulfilled, but the eager raiders slew their captive, thus breaking the commands of the war-god under whose sway and *tapu* they were. Disaster alone could result from such an act, and disaster followed swiftly the offence, Mohaka and his merry men being pursued as far as the Huiarau Range. Other instances of such prophetic visions and oracular sayings, with their attendant *papa*, might be given, but the above will suffice. It will be noted that any commands contained in these oracles must be completely and literally obeyed, otherwise failure is assured.

It occasionally happened that a seer would advise the people that victory was assured them so long as they obeyed the instructions of the *atua*, but that he, the seer himself, would perish. When Ngapuhi, during one of their southern forays, attacked Ngati-Awa at Okahukura, the seer of the latter, one Tama-a-rangi, prophesied that the raiders would be repulsed, and that he alone would be slain. This, we are told, was the actual result of the fight. Colonel Gudgeon has recorded another case in which one Titau, a seer attached to the Native Contingent of Whanganui, foretold his own death during the operations around Opotiki. When, the fighting being over, Titau was still very much alive, and the force was to return home the next day, his tribesmen looked askance at him. As the Colonel put it, "We were to embark on the morrow, and if he intended to die the time was very short, he would have to be smart about it—and he was." We are told that worthy Titau went off in a canoe to the vessel that was to take the Contingent home; that the canoe capsized in the surf, and that those on board reached the shore safely—save and except worthy Titau, who threw up his arms and went down to Rarohenga in the cold embrace of Hine-moana, thus proving the correctness of his *matakite*. It was a case of death before dishonour.

When seer or shaman of unpleasing ways became obnoxious in Maoriland there was always an element of danger attached to the profession. Colonel McDonnell tells us of one Pero, who foretold, with great accuracy, the death of sundry persons. Having been detected in an attempt to poison the colonel himself, by means of strychnine, his oracular efforts were discouraged, and he himself died soon after. This occurred in 1860; and a few years later my very worthy old friend Himiona Tikitu, of Ngati-Awa, shot a tribesman whom he suspected of felonious designs in the way of witchcraft against his child. Tikitu sought refuge among the Urewera bush folk, where he remained for some time, until handed over to Captain Preece. He was not hung, for which I am truly thankful, because, some three decades later, he furnished me with a considerable amount of tribal and racial lore.

Polack and other writers have drawn attention to the trickery and deception practised by Maori seers, and undoubtedly much of that sort of thing was done. The superior class of the priesthood certainly included men whose activities were of a more genuine nature, and who believed in certain things that we view as absurd. As to how far these men practised deception it is impossible to say.

The art of the seer was not confined to the male sex, but women who practised this pseudo-science seem to have confined themselves to lower branches of the art. Judge Wilson tells us that the Waikato chief Waharoa had a private priestess who attended to the art of divination in connection with his man-slaying activities. Other writers mention having seen female seers. In 1865 Maraea, of Tuhoe, acted as seer for the party of that tribe that fought Ngati-Manawa at Te Tapiri. No woman, however, was admitted into the superior class of *tohunga maori*.

The Maori seer in many cases claimed that when he appealed to the gods in cases of divination their answer was imparted to him during the hours of sleep. At such a time any dream would be viewed with much seriousness, and meanings of grave import would be derived from it. In some cases a seer would become "possessed" by an *atua* in his waking hours, and would, in manner frenzied, retail the result of such possession to the people in the form of an oracular utterance. As observed, many of these were in the form of songs, which were often extremely vague in any allusion made to the subject of the appeal. The gods were said to communicate with their human mediums in a whistling tone of voice, which is perhaps the reason why natives never whistled, and dislike to hear Europeans whistling. Curiously enough, it was once an article of faith along the Scotch border that the speech of spirits is a kind of whistling.

Any *tohunga* about to perform a rite of divination would assuredly fast until the ceremony was over, and that was probably an important cause for such ceremonies being performed early in the morning. A seer about to put himself into a trance-like state might fast for a much longer period. Captain Cruise, who sojourned in New Zealand in 1820, made the following remarks in his journal: "An elderly female, or kind of priestess, of the tribe of any warrior who is going to fight, abstains from food for two days, and on the third, when purified and influenced by the *atua*, after various ceremonies, pronounces an incantation for the success and safety of him whom she is about to send forth to battle." It is, however, doubtful if there was much of this divination in time of war as regarding a single person; such acts were performed to ascertain the fate of the party or force as a whole. Further illustrations of songs containing oracular expressions may be found in vol. 11 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 55 onwards.

As to how far hallucination entered into the incoherent speech and frenzied actions of the Maori shaman we know not, but doubtless persons were able to work themselves into such a condition with comparative ease. The writer has seen negroes of the southern States act and talk like raving lunatics at their camp meetings, though not one iota more foolishly than some white folks he has heard ranting at Salvation Army meetings.

The account given by Maning in *Old New Zealand* of the Ngapuhi raid on Motiti illustrates well the dubious aspect of some oracles as delivered by native seers. In this case the prophecy consisted of a brief expression, viz., "A desolate land!" This was accepted by Ngapuhi as a highly favourable omen — evidently the land of the enemy was to be desolate; but the result was absolute disaster to the raiding force, so that evidently a wrong interpretation had been assigned to the *matakite*. A similar case was that of the Tuhoe contingent at Orakau. The omens were favourable to them as an attacking party, but they made the mistake of holding the hastily constructed redoubt as against an attacking force of Europeans. This error was, of course, their undoing. The attacking force certainly won the fight, but then the enemy was the attacker.

A native who joined a party of northern natives that harried Taranaki and the south in 1820 made the following remarks when relating an account of the raid: "I saw our *tohunga* performing the augury with the *niu*, and so I drew near. He was teaching the people the meaning of the signs of the *niu*. Then I saw the furrows in the earth made by the fern stalks (*niu*), and learned their meaning, and the names of the *hapu* (clans) that would fall in battle subsequent to the performance. At the end of this the priest spoke in a frenzied manner, and explained to the people how to conduct themselves, and

told of the lands we should pass over. It was during the night, however, that the priest spoke with a particularly ghostly accent, but, as his voice was incoherent, I could not quite understand it all, nor was I clear as to whether our party was to conquer or to die in the battles which were to follow." This narrative, taken from *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, by S. Percy Smith, shows that the dubious utterances of some seers were extremely puzzling and difficult to understand. The *niu* referred to was a method of divination by means of casting sticks or short rods. Auguries were derived from the manner in which such sticks fell. There were several different ways of manipulating the sticks. The name of *niu* applied to the sticks and the ceremony is of interest, for it would appear to have been introduced from Polynesia, where the coconut is so termed. In those isles that nut was much employed in divination ceremonies, as described in Mariner's account of the Tonga Islands. (See also vol. 1 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 47.) In New Zealand the word is used as meaning "divination," as well as a specific term for the sticks referred to.

The following explanations of several methods of manipulating the *niu* have been culled from the writings and unpublished notes of the late Mr. John White, author of *The Ancient History of the Maori*:—

The expert stuck two sticks in the ground in an upright position, and tied another stick to them in a horizontal position. He then took a wand of *koromiko* (*Veronica*) to which a lock of hair from the head of a *tapu* priest or chief was attached, and waved it repeatedly across the sticks, at the same time reciting a charm. Auguries were drawn from the movements of the hair, and as to whether or not it struck the horizontal stick. This was employed in ascertaining the fate of a proposed attacking party in war. One would suppose that the result lay entirely in the operator's hands, but we are informed that his slightest movements were controlled by the gods; and who shall say it was not so?

Mr. John White has told us that the sticks used in the *niu* were named by the *tohunga* who manipulated them, and that among such names were those of Te Ata-mounu, Te Manu-i-te-ra, and Tongohiti. The *atua*, or supernatural being presiding over this divinatory practice, was one Korohahatu. The priestly adept, by means of a certain charm, caused this being to become an indwelling spirit in the sticks employed, for the duration of the ceremony.

In one method adopted by such experts the proceedings were of the simplest nature. Two pieces of stick were procured, one of which represented an enemy force, the other that of his own people, and over these he recited a brief charm, such as the following:—

Kia mana e Korohaha-tu
Korohaha-to, Korohaha-rere
Korohaha matai taua
Kia mana.

(This expresses a desire that the divinatory act be rendered effectual by Korohahatu, the critical observer of armed forces.) The manipulator then casts the two sticks down on the ground. Should one of them be then found to be lying across the other, then the party represented by the uppermost stick will be successful in the coming fray.

A still simpler method adopted in affairs of minor importance consisted merely of clapping the open hands together. Good or bad omens were drawn from the position of the fingers, whether they struck each other, or interlocked. On this occasion the following charm was repeated:—

Tenei te niu ka rere
He niu na Paki
Ko te he kia puta.*

* Much of this matter seems to have been taken from Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui*.

(This effusion proclaims that the *niu* instituted by Paki is about to be operated, and asks that ill luck be made clear, or abolished.) This charm was also employed in cases where sticks were thrown, as described above. In the hand-clapping it was deemed a good omen if the fingers interlocked, a bad one if they did not. Persons about to make a journey would perform this simple act in order to ascertain whether or not any danger or trouble lay before them.

Another method, practised by the Ngai-Tahu folk of the South Island, was as follows: Three small branchlets were stuck lightly in the earth at the sacred place of the village. One of these represented an armed force about to go forth and attack a hostile *pa* (fortified village), another represented that *pa* itself, and a third the people of that place. The experts then waited until a bird chanced to alight upon one of the branchlets. Should one so settle on the branchlet representing the war party, and should it chance to fall, the fact of its fall is taken to mean that the party will be defeated. Should the branchlet not fall, then the party will be successful. Similar omens were derived from the effect of a bird alighting on either of the other branchlets.

Here is another specimen of the charms used by *niu* augurers:—

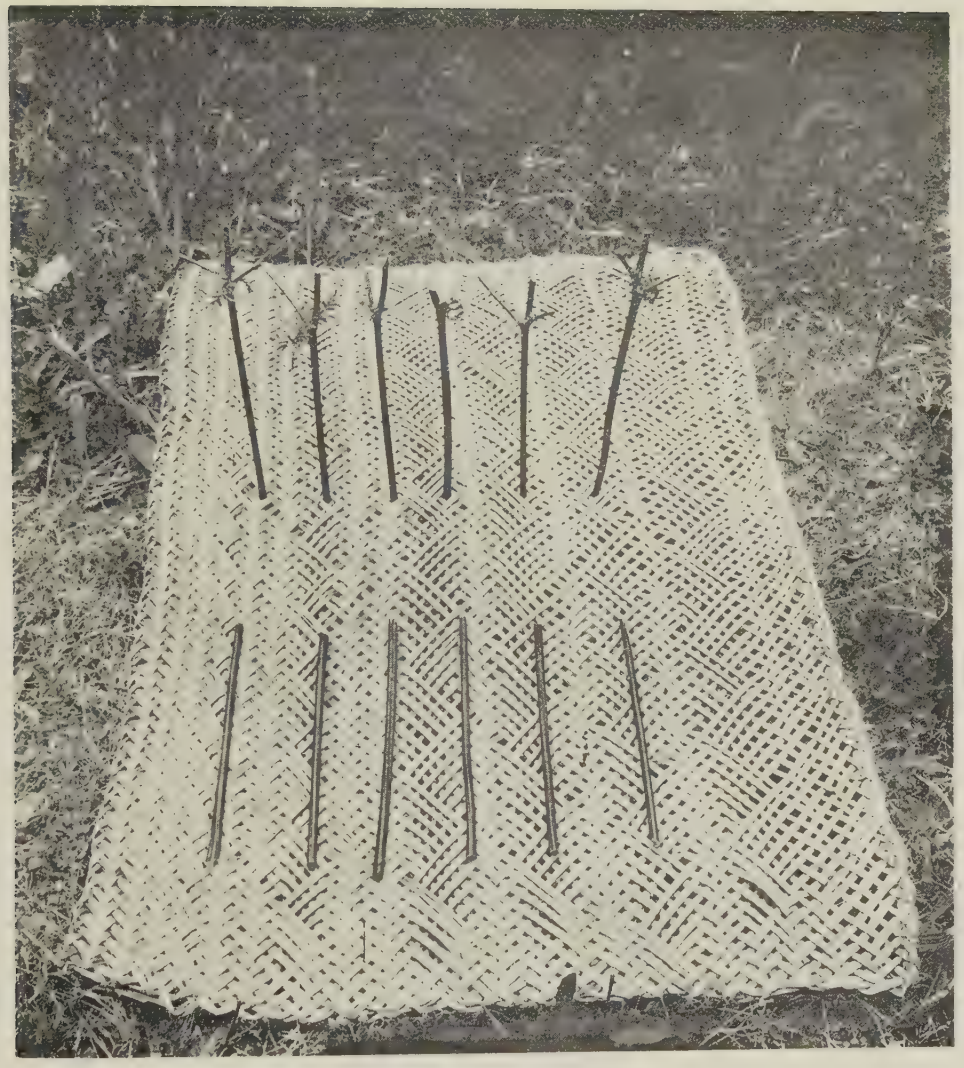
Moko torotoro, moko torotoro
Murare, murare
Kei haramai koe
Kei whakawareware i taku niu
Kia toa.

The following is the most elaborate style of *niu* divination. This method was adopted in cases of importance, such as the despatch of an armed force to attack an enemy.

At early dawn, prior to the kindling of any cooking-fires, the priestly expert proceeds to a small rude shed situated at the midden or refuse-heap of the hamlet, a shed erected by men who have slain enemies. Therein he spreads a mat on the ground, and sits down by the side of it so as to be facing the east. He has with him a number of pieces of the stalk of the *rarauhe* (*Pteris aquilina*), each about 6 in. long, one for each chief of the party about to set forth, and also one for each chief of the enemy about to be attacked. These sticks he holds in his right hand, and then, with his left hand, he takes them one by one and lays them on the mat before him, naming each one as he does so after one of the chiefs above mentioned, until all lie in a row before him. He then takes an equal number of such sticks and fixes them in the ground in a vertical position, thrusting them through the mat, leaving intervals of space between them. These receive the same names as the corresponding sticks. He then takes up the stick at the right-hand end (No. 1 of bottom row) and lays it on the palm of his hand, which is open and with straightened fingers, so that it lies in the middle of the hand, parallel with the fingers. He then extends that hand toward stick No. 1 of the upright row, which bears the same name, then withdraws it, extends it again, once more withdraws it. He then lifts that hand as high as he conveniently can, and repeats—

Ko Papa tu a nuku
Ko Papa tu a rangi
Ko Papa tu a whenua
Haere ki te riri mau.

He then lowers his hand, and, with a quick forward jerk, casts the stick off his hand towards No. 1 of the upright sticks. Should it pass to the right of No. 1 it is said to be outside and unprotected, the same being an evil omen. If it passes between upright sticks 1 and 2 it is a good omen. All other sticks are cast in like manner, and should the last thrown pass to the left of No. 6 it is an evil omen. Having completed this performance the *tohunga* or expert throws the sticks away on the midden.



THE NIU DIVINATORY RITE.

Niu tuaumu.—Our expert then proceeds with the second part of his performance, known as *niu tuaumu.* He procures a piece of stick for each chief who is to remain in the village while the warriors are absent on their raid, and an equal number to form an upright row. All these are named as before, and the same operation gone through, but the words repeated by the expert are these: "*Tahuri ki muri, haere ki pa ka hurihia*" ("Turn to the rear, go to a fallen fort"). He also repeats the names of any tribes or clans that might possibly attack the home village during the absence of the war-party. As each stick leaves his hand he repeats, "*He aha tau, e te wahine?*" ("What is thine, O woman?"), and also mentions the names of any tribes from whom assistance might possibly be received. In this case the omens apply to an enemy attacking the home village. The word *tuaumu* seems to imply weakening, or depriving of power. It is applied to a charm to weaken an adversary or enemy, also to the "scarf" in tree-felling.

The expert then lifts the *tapu*, and the people may then proceed to cook the morning meal. In this *tapu*-removing ceremony the expert marks a line on the ground, between himself and the mat, with his thumb, and also spits on or at the sticks, but we are not clear as to what these actions meant.

This final act of the ceremonial connected with the enemy is known as *niu tuaumu.* The expert explains the result of his divinatory acts to the people, and they are careful to bear in mind all instructions, so as not to bring misfortune or disaster on themselves.

The sticks that are thrown are known as *kaupapa*, and to each one is attached a small strip of *Phormium* leaf so arranged as to leave a loop projecting. When thrown, should this loop fall over the corresponding upright stick, this is looked upon as a lucky sign for the person or clan represented by such stick. If the stick thrown chances to strike the upright one and falls with the loop downward it is a sign that the person represented will die a natural death.

Niu kowhatu.—Another mode of divination, known as *niu kowhatu*, was performed on the bank of a river, pond, or lake. Ere lifting the war-trail the warriors accompanied their *tohunga* to the waterside. Each provided himself with three stones, one of which he threw into the water, one behind him, and one upward overhead. As each man cast his stones the expert proclaimed the omen betokened. Auguries were drawn from the sound caused by stones thrown into the water: the more noise made the better the omen. Of the stones thrown backwards, those that inclined to the left of the thrower foreshadowed bad luck, those that swerved to his right were tokens of good fortune. Those thrown upwards that fell in front of the thrower were lucky, those that fell behind him unlucky. When all had cast their stones, then the expert gave a general decision, according to the total numbers of lucky and unlucky casts.

In his work *Te Ika a Maui* the Rev. R. Taylor tells us that "In consulting the *niu* each one had his stick, to which his own name was given, and in throwing the stick, if the one representing the consulter fell under the other, it was a sign of his death."

Mr. Yate, a missionary who sojourned in New Zealand in the "thirties" of last century, gave the following account of a *niu* performance, probably as practised in the far north. The performer cleared a small space, about 6 ft. square, in a sheltered spot. He procured a number of sticks of equal size to represent the clans of both sides that would be engaged in the fight. He stuck the sticks in a vertical position in the earth, in two rows, and apparently but loosely, not firmly, inserted in the ground. He would then recite a charm over the sticks and wait until a wind caused them, or some of them, to fall. According to the manner in which they fell he drew his auguries as to the fate awaiting the different clans represented. Any stick that fell backwards betokened a routed clan. If any fell in an oblique manner, then such clans would be "partly routed," as the writer puts it. Those that fell forward represented the clans that would be victors. Another method practised, according to the same writer, consisted of another person being called in, one ignorant of the disposition of the sticks as allocated to different clans, and

this person overthrew the sticks in a haphazard manner. One may marvel at men placing any faith in such puerile trickery, and it can only be explained by the knowledge that they firmly believed that their gods were behind all such functions; that the so-called oracles were manifestations of supernormal beings that controlled the destiny of man.

In November, 1833, the Rev. A. N. Brown wrote as follows: "Titore was sitting on a bank, relating his exploits. . . . On their right hand were fourteen human heads, stuck on short poles. . . . Tohitapu . . . after addressing Tu (one of their gods) in a chanting tone, threw a piece of stick which he had in his hand toward three heads of their friends, which Titore had brought from the southward. The chiefs stopped their conversation to see whether the stick, round which he had tied a piece of flax, would fall with the knot upward or downward. It was upward, which they took for a good sign in the event of their returning to the southward again to give battle to their enemies."

In April, 1831, the Rev. R. Davis gave an account of another form of *niu* that he witnessed. Two seers took part in this performance, which seems to have begun with the recitation of some ritual formula. Each then procured a cockle-shell, and they cut each other's hair, an act that entered into many native ceremonial performances. In a secluded spot, well sheltered, they stuck up a stick, and balanced thereon two others. They then retired, and were to return later on to see if the balanced sticks had fallen. If such sticks fall off on the eastern side of the upright one, then success is assured; if on the western side, a defeat will be suffered.

The Rev. J. Buller, in his *Forty Years in New Zealand*, mentions a mode of *niu* that was possibly the same as one described by Mr. Yate: "Divination was used to foretell the results of the impending action. No food was eaten while these were being performed. Early dawn was the orthodox time. The chiefs of both sides were represented by as many fern-stalks, and these were called by their names. Each stalk had a strip of flax tied to it, while another set was prepared without the flax. They were all fixed into the ground. A stick was thrown across them, and according to the way in which the fern-stalks fell were the chances of the fight."

In his *Story of Te Waharoa* Mr. J. A. Wilson describes a mode of *niu* employed by a force about to attack a *pa*, or fortified village: "This ceremony was performed by taking a number of small sticks, each representing in the *tohunga's* mind a particular clan, and throwing them haphazard towards a small space described on the ground, which betokened the *pa*. The *tohunga* was able, by the way they fell upon the ground, and the directions they pointed in, to presage whether an attack would prove successful, and, if so, to assign to the various clans the parts they should take in the proposed assault."

The late Colonel McDonnell gave the following description of a *niu* performance: "If a tribe was going to war, they would make presents to propitiate the gods, through the priests, who would place a number of reeds in the ground, and then, retiring a short distance, pronounce an incantation, and then send short clubs whirling among the reeds, and judge by the way they fell whether the gods would crown the expedition with victory."

In yet another method of this *niu* performance the sticks seem to have been thrown all together. If they fell in a scattered manner the augury was a good one; if together, then trouble lay before.

Tylor held the view that ancient and barbaric divinatory functions may survive as games in civilized communities, which appears probable. Some of the forms of *niu* described above might certainly degenerate into some form of dart-throwing game. It is an assured fact that many of our modern sports and pastimes are survivals of exercises and ritual performances of former times. They originally had a meaning, and were held to be not only useful activities, but also indispensable to the well-being of the people.

Polack tells us how he came upon a party of six natives about to perform a divinatory ceremony of the *niu* kind. All were naked, as was customary when what we may call a religious rite was performed, and they were much relieved when told that the traveller had not yet partaken of food. The operators fixed in the ground some small

sticks about 2 ft. in length, each of which represented a person. On the top of each stick was carefully balanced a small stone. After the lapse of a certain time the place would be revisited, and if all the stones were still in position, then the journey about to be undertaken would be safely accomplished. If, however, any of the stones had fallen off the sticks, then the persons represented by those sticks would perish during the journey. On another occasion this writer saw the same performance gone through in order to ascertain the fortune of war. In this case about twenty sticks were erected in two rows, one row for each tribe about to fight.

Missionary H. Williams tells us how, in 1832, he came across some natives manipulating the *niu* sticks in order to ascertain the fortune of an expedition by canoe. All the experts engaged in the performance were in a state of nudity, and a stick about 1 ft. long was erected for each canoe of the fleet.

Dr. Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, the best of the earlier works on these isles, wrote as follows: "Before the army took the field the chiefs of the host, in order to infuse confidence, asked the gods to foretell whether the expedition would prove successful. This divine opinion was obtained through the priests in various ways. Sometimes sticks representing the combatants were stuck in the ground, over which the priests performed certain ceremonies. Then food was cooked for the gods and the army. After partaking of this the priests returned with the people to the place where the sticks were placed; and should the sticks representing the enemy have fallen down, the gods were supposed to announce success; if otherwise, defeat; in which last case the expedition was postponed to a future occasion."

In a paper by the Rev. T. G. Hammond published in vol. 10 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* the writer in mentioning the Mangaroa Stream, near Turanga-rere, says: "Where this stream turns in its course the *tohunga* divined the omens by watching the course sticks would take in the current, and advised the warriors accordingly, in relation to impending conflicts." Now, this mode of divination through the agency of floating sticks was also practised at the baptism of a child of rank, at least among the Kahungunu folk. This was with the view of ascertaining the future fortunes of the child. Polack mentions that one versed in ariolation was sometimes employed to ascertain the sex and qualities of an unborn child.

The native treatment of disease was empirical with a vengeance. Even herbal remedies were not used by the Maori practitioner, for he was the village priest, the shaman, and so taught that all forms of sickness and disease emanated from the gods. Such afflictions were held to be punishments inflicted by the gods for offences, as against the laws of *tapu*, or were the result of black magic. Even in the latter case the powers of the magic that caused the affliction came from the gods. Thus, divination entered largely into the activities of the *tohunga* when dealing with illness. His first aim was to ascertain either the cause of the attack, the particular offence of the sufferer against the gods, or the name of the *atua* so afflicting him, or that of the wizard whose knowledge of the black art was responsible for the affliction. In the charm recited by the shaman priest would probably be inserted the names of certain *atua*, of certain offences, or certain wizards, or a combination of these. Should the patient gasp, or make some involuntary movement, or expire, during the repetition of the charm, then the person named or offence being mentioned at that precise juncture was held to be the cause of the person's illness. Thus the words, "house," "bed," "garment" would probably appear in the *karakia hirihiri*, or divinatory charm, diagnostic ritual. If the word "house" were indicated in the above manner, then was it known that the patient had offended against tha laws of *tapu* in regard to a *tapu* house, and so on. The names of known warlocks were mentioned and viewed in the same way. In some cases this ceremony was performed at the edge of a stream, and, should the diviner discover that a certain wizard had caused the trouble, he would probably say, "It is ——. I see him standing beside you."

In some cases the attendant *tohunga* would prepare a small *umu*, or steam-oven, in which he cooked a small portion of food, over which he recited a charm that comes under the generic term of *hoa*. This charm had the effect of endowing the food (or the ceremonial performance) with the power to manifest the death or recovery of the patient. When the oven was opened, then, if the particular article of food over which the charm had been repeated was found to be thoroughly cooked, the recovery of the patient was assured. If, on the other hand, it was found to be underdone, then the sufferer would assuredly die. In the first case, that of the favourable omen, were the patient's illness the result of witchcraft, then the death of the wizard was looked upon as assured.

Another method, and apparently one more frequently adopted, was as follows: The *tohunga*, or expert, would seek a flax-plant (*Phormium*), and would grasp one of the young, undeveloped inner leaves. As he did so he repeated the following charm:—

A seeking, a searching,
To seek whither?
To search the land, to seek the origin,
To seek the base, to search the unknown,
To seek out the *atua*.
May it be effectual!

He then pulled the young leaf out from the fan of leaves. If the act was accompanied by a peculiar screeching sound that it sometimes causes, then it would be known that the patient would recover. It must be understood that the charm has the effect of making that leaf a medium of the gods, as it were, through which they made known their fiat to man

The following illustration is that of an east coast method resembling the above, but a small shrub took the place of the *Phormium* leaf. A curious form of divination was practised among the Ngati-Porou Tribe. It was employed in cases of illness, though its use was not confined to such cases. The method adopted was as follows: Should a person be suffering from illness, then some one would go and convey the *mariunga* to the priestly adept, who would proceed to the forest and there search for a small shrub of *karangu* (*Coprosma robusta*) to be used as a medium for the ceremonial charm. When found, he repeated these words over it:—

Reveal the token of death;
Reveal the token of life.

He then grasped the stem of the shrub firmly with both hands and repeated another charm, after which he pulled the shrub up by the roots. Should the roots come up intact, without breakage, it was a sign that the invalid would recover; but if they broke and remained in the earth, then the sufferer would not survive.

What the *mariunga* may be is not known, but it was probably some object to represent the personality of the invalid. The following is the original, as given by Tuta Nihoniho:—

Me he mea e pangia ana e te mate tetahi tangata, ka haere tetahi tangata ki te kawe i te mariunga ki te tohunga. Ka haere ia ki te rapa i tetahi rakau hei whakaari, ka kite ia i te karangu ririki e tipu ana, ka takutaku atu ia ki taua rakau, ara:—

"Tohungia te tohu o te mate;
Tohungia te tohu o te ora."

I konei ka pupuri nga ringa ki taua rakau, ka karakia ano:—

"He unuhanga a nuku, he unuhanga a rangi
Ka unu i to peke mua, ka unu i to peke roto
Ka unu i to peke waimarie."

Hei konei ka unuhia taua rakau; ki te riro katoa ake nga paiaka, ka ora te turoro; ki te motu atu nga paiaka ki ro oneone, kaore e ora taua turoro.

Some of these shamanistic experts, when called upon to treat a sick person, would first inquire as to what part was affected, whereupon he would affect to know the particular *atua* that was afflicting the sufferer. He would then go and pull up a stalk

of the common fern (*Pteris*), and, if the rhizome thereof broke with a clean fracture, the fact was viewed as a lucky omen—the patient would recover. If, however, the fracture was jagged, then the outlook for the patient was but a gloomy one. As he pulled up the plant he repeated the words "*To ara, to ara*" ("Your path, your path"). He then carried the stalk of the plant to the patient, and, placing one end on the sufferer's head or body, he repeated "*Naumai, haere! Naumai, tahuti atu! Kua kitea koe!*" ("Now go! Now run away! You are detected!"). The fern-stalk was supposed to furnish a path or way by which the demon afflicting the patient might leave his body. The warlock then recited another charm:—

Ngau atu ki te rangi
Ki nga poke ao
Ki te rangi tuatahi
Ki te rangi tuarua,
&c., &c.,
Ki te rangi tuangahuru
Ki te wai ora a Tane.

(Assail the heavens and cloud-wrack at the first heaven, the second heaven, &c., the tenth heaven, the *wai ora* of Tane.)

We show elsewhere the meaning of the last cryptic phrase.

Our practitioner would then leave the fern-stalk in position on the patient and proceed to kindle fire by friction, at which fire he would roast or heat a few leaves of *puha*, an edible plant. These leaves he took to the patient, and with them touched various parts of his body. Then, holding the leaves up in his left hand, he chanted:—

Ka kai rangi nui, ka kai rangi roa,
Ka kai rangi pouri, ka kai te ao
Ka kai te kapua, ka kai te moana
Ka kai Papa-tuanuku, ka kai te Po
Ka kai nga atua, ka kai nga tipua
Ka kai! Ka kai!
Ka kai te ra, ka kai te marama
Ka kai nga whetu, ka kai nga mano tini
Ka kai! Ka kai!

In this curious effusion the heavens, earth, clouds, ocean, underworld, sun, moon, stars, gods, demons, &c., are called upon to eat, as the leaves are held up. Another portion of food is now cooked, a piece of which the shaman takes in his left hand and holds out toward the east as he repeats a charm called a *taumaha*, the conclusion of which runs:—

Motu te upoko o te whaiwhaia
Motu te upoko o te kanakana
E kai hika, e kai ure
E kai te rangi nui e tu nei
E kai te papa e takoto nei.

This appears to denote the thwarting of the powers of evil magic, and the participation of both male and female elements in the work of restoration.

Some of the cooked food was given to the patient to eat; and cooked food has a very disturbing effect on these demons and evil spirits, often banishing them.

Should a patient appear to be *in extremis*, the *tohunga* might recite over him a charm known as *whakanoho manawa*, which was held to have the power of implanting the breath of life in a person apparently dying. The restorative powers of this charm were believed to be amazing.

Post mortem divination was by no means uncommon in Maoriland. It was practised in order to ascertain the cause of death, and such ceremonies were often of a very singular nature, not to say absurd, from our point of view.

In still another method the divining expert stuck a number of small branchlets in the ground, each of which represented a certain party, clan, or place. Thus, one might stand for an attacking party, and one for the people to be attacked. The expert recited certain charms or incantations over these branchlets, and these are said to have had the effect of causing them to move, or fall, or their leaves to drop off, from which happenings omens were derived by the expert. Old Hamiora Pio, of Ngati-Awa, told the writer that many years ago he saw this ceremony performed at Roto-iti, when he saw the leaves fall in numbers from a branchlet representing a clan that was defeated in the subsequent fight. Twigs used for the above purpose were styled *hau*. In some cases they were stuck in small mounds of earth. One description given to the writer is that of a very curious performance, and was as follows: Each clan was represented by a mound, in which a *hau* was inserted. A short piece of stick was laid on the ground before each mound, and pointing towards it. These sticks represent the attacking party, and the officiating *tohunga*, or seer, then recited a form of charm in order to cause the sticks to advance, each on its respective mound, and "attack" the *hau* thereof. Some of these charms I have collected, but I cannot trust myself to translate them, on account of the occurrence of archaic sacerdotal expressions of which we know not the meanings. (For an attempt at such see the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 11, p. 39.) We are told that after the seer has repeated his magic formula, which induced the gods to animate the sticks, as it were, those sticks would be seen to move towards the mounds. At the same time, as the sticks were advancing, leaves would be seen falling from the branchlets to the extent of one leaf for each man who would fall in the coming fight. This was the *raurau* rite.

When an enemy force was about to attack the fortified position of Rangihoua, at the mouth of the Wairoa River, the local seer, by virtue of his art, advised the occupants of the *pa* to vacate it and retire to Whareokoro, an islet in the Wairoa River. This advice was disregarded, with disastrous results. It is unwise to neglect the warnings of the gods.

A very singular mode of divination was practised occasionally when it was desirable to ascertain whether a defeat, or slaying of a single person, would be avenged or not. The body of a slain tribesman is laid on the ground in the middle of the village plaza, the priestly expert stands forth and intones certain ritual, and then, if the disaster is to be avenged, the stiffened body will be seen to turn slowly over. Again, a grim method is described in vol. 24 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 70. A captive in war was laid face upward on the ground, his limbs were lashed to pegs driven into the soil, then a spear was thrust through his body and into the earth. A seer, reciting his charms, stood watching the oscillations of the spear-shaft as the hapless captive writhed in dreadful torture. The desired oracle hinged upon the movement of the spear, as to which side it finally inclined.

It has now been made fairly clear that almost any occurrence of doubtful result might be employed as a vehicle for an oracle, and so consulted in regard to divination. It mattered little what it was, the one thing needful was the inducing of the gods to use such activity as a medium for the prophetic manifestation. That *mana* was imparted to the medium by the ceremonial performance of the seer.

Polack tells us that seers practised trickery in manipulating sticks used as mediums or vehicles in divination, and this is probably correct, at least so far as the lower grade of *tohunga* is concerned.

Colonel Gudgeon tells us of a case in which a weapon possessed of *mana* was employed as a vehicle in divination. If the oracle was a favourable one the weapon would slowly turn itself over as it lay on the ground. A common way in which to foretell the result of an enterprise was to fall asleep, and then note any involuntary movement of the arms during sleep. This usage was quite a study in itself, and demands a knowledge of many curious expressions. Another mode of divination was by means of flying

THE RAURAU RITE.

(Showing the small mounds of earth, each of which has a green branchlet stuck in it. The sticks opposite each mound represent the advance of the attacking forces.)

a kite. In one well-known case the kite persisted in hovering over a village in which resided certain malefactors, whose whereabouts the seer wished to discover. Polack mentions another mode in which a small circle was marked on the ground, and a number of sticks thrown up into the air, auguries being derived from such sticks as fell within the circle. The same writer tells us that the cannibal Maori derived auguries from the appearance of the intestines of a body that was being cut up. This resort to haruspication was probably most frequent in time of war. He also describes another method, the throwing of a shell, or a stick, at a number of dried heads of enemies slain in war. The heads were placed in a row, and the augury was derived from the position in which the object fell in relation to the heads.

In some cases divination was by means of fire — that is, by noting the direction the smoke took when a fire was kindled. A good illustration of this method is given at p. 38 of vol. 11 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. At p. 47 of the same volume appears a description of the *ahi mahitihiti*, wherein it is shown that, by causing his fighting-men to leap through the flames of a fire, a chief was enabled to know which men would fall in the coming fight.

In cases where prophetic utterances were falsified by the trend of events the Maori seer seems to have been exceedingly ingenious in forming excuses. The blame was often assigned to some person or persons who, it was alleged, had transgressed some law of *tapu*. There was always some form of excuse handy; and the credulity of barbaric man is a very amazing quantity.

When Tutamure attacked the Maunga-a-kahia fort he told his brother to fill a gourd vessel with water and throw it over the stockade. The vessel did not clear the tops of the palisades, and so fell outside and was broken. This was accepted as a token that the place would not be taken. Colonel McDonnell tells us of a case he witnessed in which a thief was detected by means of a reed twirled in the hands of the operating seer; this being a far-spread device.

Colonel Gudgeon has recorded how Tipoki-o-rangi was consulted or manipulated in order to foretell the future. This object was a gourd that became in some unexplained manner the shrine of an *atua*. A priestly expert, the human medium of the spirit abiding in the object, invoked the powers of the oracle, with the result that water contained in the gourd bowl became agitated. Auguries were drawn from the extent of such agitation — whether any water flowed over the side or not, whether it flowed over at one part of the rim only, or at several, or all round. It seems probable that shamanistic fraud entered into such manifestations. Of a truth, many of the native methods of divination in former times were of an exceedingly puerile nature.

The highly energetic saltatory exercise called *tutu waewae* by the Maori, and "war-dance" by us, was practised as a vehicle for divination. When performed for this purpose only, however, it was alluded to as a *turanga-a-tohu*. Experts keenly watched the performance, to note whether or not any false movements were made by the dancers, inasmuch as such errors portended misfortune.

We have on record two remarkable prophecies uttered by natives of past generations concerning the coming of a strange folk to these isles in the future. One of these was recorded by Colonel Gudgeon in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 16, p. 65. This was a prophetic utterance made by one Tiriwa, a warrior-priest of the Ngati-Apakura Tribe, and was as follows: "*Kei tua i te awe kapara he tangata ke mana e noho te ao nei, he ma*" ("Behind the tattooed folk stand strange people who will yet populate the world; they are white"). Did we possess exact knowledge that this was a genuine utterance made prior to the arrival of Captain Cook on these shores it would be of exceeding interest. There here enters, however, the question of still earlier European voyagers who sailed these seas. The natives of the far north saw Tasman's vessels, as also did those of other districts, and such an amazing event would assuredly be preserved in tradition, and possibly lead to such thoughts as apparently prompted the above oracular remark.

The other instance was recorded by Mr. S. Percy Smith in his *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 11, but was, I fancy, collected by the late Mr. John White. It was related by one Pangari, of Hokianga, about the year 1820. He stated that the prophecy was uttered by one Maoi of "the days of old," but no proof appears as to the actual period during which he lived. Maoi was of the Ngapuhi Tribe, and, when near his end, said, "It will not be long before I die, nor long after I am dead that an *atua* [supernormal being] will come on the crest of the wave, and *kehua* [spirits, ghostly apparitions] will be on its back. That *atua* will be like a canoe in appearance, but much larger, and will sail all over the ocean. Nor will it ever be mistaken in its course across the ocean; so it will sail away. After a long time another *atua* will appear; it will resemble the former one, but while the first will move with the aid of sails, the second will do so by the aid of fire." Now, it is possible that a traditionary knowledge of foreign ships may have led to hazarding a statement as to the return of such vessels, but the present writer draws the line at a Maori of the stone age foretelling the arrival of steamers.

Yet another prophecy recorded by Colonel Gudgeon concerns one Rangi-tauatia, of Ngati-Porou, who is said to have prophesied the coming of Europeans, as also of the raiding forces of Ngapuhi from the far north that ravaged the district early in the nineteenth century. A weak point of all these illustrations is that we are not informed of the period at which the prophets lived, which might be done with approximate accuracy by means of genealogical evidence. The particular utterance of Rangi-tauatia was as follows: "*Kia toro te pakiaka hinahina i runga i au, ka rongo ake au e mara ana, e kihi ana*" ("When the roots of the *hinahina* tree have grown over me, I will then hear the *mara* and *kihi*"). Now, the word *mara* is a form of greeting employed only among the Ngapuhi folk, while *kihi* is used to describe the sibilant English speech. And the time was to come when Ngati-Porou were to hear too much of the salutation "*E mara!*" for their own comfort, and the folk of the hissing speech have long overrun their district.

The following relation is an account of the ceremonial initiation of a *matakite*, or seer, as performed by the higher order of *tohunga* of former times. It was given to the writer by an old man of the Kahungunu Tribe: Perchance a sleeping person dreams that he sees the spirit of his father, or that of his grandfather, or of his own child. Were that son, or other relative, a person of knowledge, and thus his surviving relatives much regretted his death, then the person who saw his spirit might desire that it would appear to him again, hence he would hie him to the *tohunga tuahu*, or the *tohunga ahurewa* (the two highest classes of priestly experts), and to none other. The applicant would request that the spirit of the defunct one be caused to reappear to him, that he might be protected and assisted by it. When he so interviewed the priest, that person would reply briefly to his request "Yes" or "No." If he consented, then he added, "Go, catch a bird." Now, the bird to be so caught must be taken alive, and must be either a *miromiro* (*Petroeca toitoi*) or *tatahore* (*Certhiparus albicapillus*). So the bird-seeker would go his way, and if he secured the bird then all would be well; but if he did not manage to catch one — that is, on the same day — then he would not attain his desire. If he did so capture the desired bird, then he conveyed it to the *tuahu* (sacred place where rites were performed) before day dawned. The bird was placed in a basket or ceremonial gourd vessel, and there left. The applicant was conducted to the waterside, where the priest performed the *pure* rite over him. Both divested themselves of their garments and entered the water. The applicant advanced toward the right side of the priest, passed behind him, and took his place on his left side. The priest then asked the applicant, "Are you a *whiro* or an *ahurangi?*" (*i.e.*, "Are you of evil or good character"), and the applicant might reply, "*He ahurangi tenei tama nau*" ("This man of thine is of good character"). The priest would be a *matakite* (seer), and so would know whether or not this statement was a true one. He then proceeded to chant a certain formula, one that had the effect of abolishing all moral impurities pertaining to the applicant. This cleansed the applicant, as it were - absolved him from all dangers arising from any wrong acts committed by him from childhood onward.

Now, should the applicant speak untruthfully, conceal his misdemeanours, such as theft, or the practice of black magic, the priest would detect the deceit. Should he so conceal a treacherous act of man-slaying, the priest would inquire, "What was the cause of the death of so-and-so?" Should it be seen by the priest that the applicant was a person of evil habits, not of good character, he would dismiss him in anger. If the person were a man of goodly life, then he would gain his desire. The priest would then stretch forth his left hand to the right hand of the applicant, and the right hand to his left, and chant the following ritual:—

He ahurangi, e Io, e!
Tenei ka turuki atu
Kia turuki mai te ata a rangi o . . .
Kia whakaupa ki tenei tama tamaua take
Nau, e Io-taketake!
He koronga ka tu ki a koe
He koronga ka whano ki a koe
Kia urutu, kia urutaketake ki tenei tama
He tama ahurangi nau, e Io, e!
Tawhia tamaua take ki tenei pia,
Ki tenei taura na tenei tama
Kia mohunga ki mohikutu tenei tauira ki marae nui,
Ki marae whakapau tangata ki a koe, e Io, e!

(The expression *ata a rangi* is used to denote the *wairua* or spirit of man, and the Supreme Being of Maori belief, Io, is asked to cause the spirit of the defunct one to abide with the applicant. The name of the person whose spirit is thus desired is inserted in the blank space. Stress is laid upon the fact that the applicant is an *ahurangi*, or person of good character. It is a curious and highly interesting fact that the absolutory ceremony performed over persons about to take part in some ritual or religious performance seems to be the first introduction of ethics into the religion of these barbaric folk. This is one of the illuminating phases of Maori religious observances and beliefs that throw such light upon the study of the development of religion. The above invocation is a high-class one, as are all such formulae which were addressed to the Supreme Being. The terms *pia*, *taura*, and *tauira* denote three different grades of learners of esoteric lore.)

When the priest finished his recital he told the applicant to immerse himself in the water, and he still retained hold of his hands. The man then immersed the whole of his body in the water. As he emerged therefrom the priest placed his left hand on the head of the applicant, while, with his right hand, he dipped up a little water and sprinkled it over him, repeating the following words as he did so:—

Tapihai nuku, tapihai rangi
Ki a koe, e Io-matua, e!
No tenei tama.

As he finished the repetition of the above the priest said: "Now leave the water, but do not endeavour to remove any water clinging to your head or body." As the man regained the bank the priest immersed his own body in the stream seven distinct times. He then joined the applicant, and both returned to the *tuahu*. There the priest took the bird from the receptacle it had been placed in, and bade the man *whakaha* the head of the creature. (This expression means to "inhale the breath," and such an act in ceremonial performances was a mode of absorbing the essence, or *tapu*, or *mana* of a person, &c.) This act was performed three times, after which the man and bird were conducted to a hut by the priest, and the door closed on them, the bird being allowed its freedom within the hut. Thus, having shut up man and bird in the hut, the priest returned to the *tuahu*.

As day dawned the man opened the door of the hut and allowed the bird to fly away; he then joined the priest at the *tuahu*. Now, if the bird released chanced to be a *miromiro* the priest would inquire, "Has Miro gone?" The man would reply, "Yes."

Then the priest would say, "Kneel down"; whereupon the man would kneel before him, and the priest would lay his hands upon his head, and intone the final *karakia*, or formula, that endowed the subject with full powers of the seer, and of the pseudo-science of oneirology. This invocation had been forgotten by my informant.

All *karakia* or invocations connected with *wairua tangata* (the human soul) were addressed to Io, the Supreme Being, not to the lesser gods, otherwise they would not have the desired effect: this with regard to priests of the first grade.

The above account is of what may be termed a high-class performance, as conducted by a member of the superior order of priests over a person who wished to become a seer of superior standing. No such priest would have any dealings with low-class shamanistic jugglers, such as *tohunga kehua*. Another specimen of the formulae chanted over would-be seers and mediums is given in the addenda.

The following *karakia*, or ritual chant, is one that was repeated over a person in order that he might be endowed with a clear understanding of spiritual matters, and to induce the gods to look favourably upon him, to abide with him and treat him as their medium. It is a specimen of what may be termed the higher class of ritual, as seen in the invoking of the Supreme Being, Io, and in the phraseology employed. Such matter as this was known to the upper class of priests only:—

Tau ake nei au i taku tau
He tau na nga tuaiho
He tau na nga whatu kura
He tau na nga tahurangi
Tenei to aro te turuki atu nei
Tenei to pia te whano atu nei
Tenei to taura te whakamau atu nei ki to aro
Ko to aro, ko taku aro
Ko to manawa nguha ko taku manawa
Ko to manawa pore ko taku manawa
Ko to manawa nui ko taku manawa
Ka whakapau ki tenei tama
E Io matua . . . e . . . i.

Tenei au he uriuri no nga tuaiho
Tenei au he hekehekenga iho no nga tawhito
Tenei au he aro no nga tipua
Tenei au he pia ariki no nga apa rangi
E Ruatau . . . e . . . i.

Tenei au to aro, he aro tawhito
He aro no nga apa tahurangi
He aro no nga apa a rangi
Ka whakamau atu nei
Ka whakapiri atu nei
Ka whakatata atu nei tenei tama ki nga tipua,
Ki nga atua, ki nga whatu kura
Ki nga mareikura, ki nga kahurangi
He tahito huru nuku, he tahito huru rangi
Awhitia mai, tamaua mai ki tenei tama
Kia aropiri mai ki tenei taura
Ki tenei tama . . . e.

Tenei au; turuki mai o mahara taiahoaho
Turuki mai o mahara tipua ki tenei tama
Turuki mai o mahara whatu kura ki tenei tama
Turuki mai o mahara apa atua o nga rangi
Ki au, ki tenei tauira
Turuki mai o mahara poutiriao ki tenei tauira
Ka ea, ka ea ki tenei tama, ka ea
Tenei au he uru tu, he uru tau
He uru matua ki a koe
E Io matakaka . . . e . . . i.

Tamaua i roto o to pia
Tamaua i roto o tenei tama
Tamaua i roto i te pu mahara
Tamaua i te iho tu, i te iho taketake
I te iho i te pu, i te weu ki tenei tauira
Tamaua kita, tamaua whita
Whitawhita ki tenei tauira.

In the above archaic formula the Supreme Being is beseeched to endow the subject with a clear mental outlook, a quick understanding, and to favour him in all ways. Some of the cryptic expressions employed pertain to sacerdotal matters only, and their meaning can only be conjectured, hence a translation would be feeble.

In his work *The Martyrdom of Man* Winwood Reade has the following enlightening passage: "The savage lives in a strange world, a world of special providences and divine interpositions, not happening at long intervals and for some great end, but every day and almost at every hour. A pain, a dream, a sensation of any kind, a stroke of good or bad luck, whatever, in short, does not proceed from man, whatever we ascribe, for want of a better word, to chance, is by him ascribed to the direct interference of the gods." Herein we note the mental attitude of the Maori, and the passage may be applied to him as an explanation of his beliefs in regard to *matakite*.

PART VII.

RITUAL PERFORMANCES AND FORMULAE.

CONTENTS.

True prayer not a Maori institution. Invocations rare. Myths and ritual subject to change. The term *karakia* and its meaning. Similar primitive charms of Egypt and Babylonia. Charms universally employed. Types of *karakia*. Grades of *tohunga*. Maori beliefs rendered use of charms imperative. Observations by Forster and others. Aspect of aloofness in charms. The necessity of *mana*. How ritual formulae were delivered. Attitudes adopted during delivery. Nudity often essential. Charms for all purposes. Rites performed at dawn. Fasting. Purificatory rites. *Wai tapu*. Aspersion and immersion. Use of fire in ritual performances. Sacred fires. Fire-generating. Fire-making. The *whakau* rite. The *tuapa*. Fire-walking. Ceremonial feasts and ovens. Use of hair in rites. Hair-cutting a ceremonial function. Use of saliva in rites. Superstitious practices. Sun-worship. The sun personified. Personification of moon. Hina and Rongo. The use of water in rites. Rites performed in running water. Baptism. Lustral ceremonies. Bird released in rite. Ceremonial dances. Phallic worship. The *heitiki*. The eel cult. Tuna and Hina. Protective powers of organs of generation. The *ngau paepae* rite. Ritual pertaining to birth. The *tohi* rite. Marriage rites. The *atahu* rite. Divorce ritual. The *miri aroha* rite. Ritual pertaining to sickness and death. Bones of dead employed in rites. Ritual pertaining to war. The *wai taua* rite. Magic rites. Ritual pertaining to agriculture. Miscellaneous rites. Ceremonies performed by travellers. Fishing ritual. Rites performed by seafarers. Rain charms. Wind charms. Invocation to Io.

UNDER this heading it is proposed to give some explanation of Maori rites and *karakia*, or religious formulae. This explanation will consist principally of a survey of native mentality, and its effects as seen in the performance of rites connected with religion and magic, as also some account of the manner in which such rites were carried out. To describe in detail the many rites concerning which we possess particulars would result in a chapter of extraordinary and cumbrous length. Moreover, such details should be reserved for separate monographs on the various subjects to which they pertain, such as birth, marriage, death, war, &c. In like manner, but few illustrations of *karakia* will be given, merely some that illustrate different grades of such effusions. The number of these formulae that have been collected is remarkable, and any paper that included all would assuredly be one of prodigious length.

It is well to bear in mind that the rites of the Maori, and of barbaric man generally, were based not on worship and prayer, or direct entreaty, but on symbolism, on analogies, and sympathetic magic. The methods of influencing supernormal powers were indirect, and the medium employed might be a ceremonial action, a verbal formula, or a material medium. In the esoteric cult of Io alone do we perceive the higher attributes of religious thought, and that cultus was unknown to the many. As a general statement it may be said that, in the relations of the Maori with his gods, indirect influence was the leading characteristic.

J. W. Fewkes, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, spoke truly when he remarked that "Myth and rite form the woof and warp of religious development." In Maori lore we find enlightening and highly interesting data concerning these products of the mentality of the Polynesian folk.

We are often assured that backward people, such as the Maori, maintain their religious concepts, ritual performances, and myths at one level for long periods of time. This may be so to a considerable extent, but still a certain amount of change does take place, more especially among any body of people that breaks off from a community to settle in some distant land. Thus it has been noted that, among the descendants of the

old-time Polynesians who settled in New Zealand, both mythology and religion have undergone change. In some cases a change has occurred in regard to quite prominent and important features. Thus, in local Maori myth we have in Rangi and Papa the personified forms of sky and earth, and these were viewed as the primal parents from whom all things sprang. Now, among the natives of Rarotonga, who are closely allied to the Maori, Te Tumu takes the place of Rangi, and the two words have different meanings. Either Rarotongans or Maoris have made the change since their ancestors separated. Again, we know that changes have occurred here, and that ritual performances pertaining to any function, such as the *tua* or *tohi* rite performed over an infant, differed among different tribes.

It will be well to here attempt some explanation of the term *karakia*, a word that occurs so often in any native account of religious functions. The word has a wide range of meaning, for it is employed to denote the simplest form of charm and the highest form of invocation. It denotes a charm, a spell, an incantation, an invocation. Any simple form of words, no matter how puerile it may be, uttered in order to avert ill fortune, to secure good luck, to render one dextrous, skilful, to cause a child's kite to fly or a top to spin, all were termed *karakia*, as also were invocations to the Supreme Being. As to the *etymon* of the term I can say nothing, save that the remarks of the Rev. Mr. Taylor are certainly incorrect. In his work *Te Ika a Maui* he says: "It may be derived from *ka*, to burn, showing the consuming power of the spell, and *raki*, to dry up, denoting its effects." But *ka*, to burn, is not a transitive verb, and *raki* is not a verb but an adjective. Moreover, what of a *karakia* repeated in order to cause a crop to flourish? Surely these devastating effects would not be sought or considered desirable in such cases.

The following definition of *karakia* was written by Maning, author of *Old New Zealand:* "*Karakia* properly signifies a formula of words or incantation, which words are supposed to contain a power, and to have a positive effect upon the spirit to whom they are addressed, totally irrespective of the conduct or action, good or bad, of the person using them."

We cannot quite agree with this gifted writer in the above remarks—namely, in regard to the conduct of the repeater of the *karakia*. In many cases such a person had to be remarkably circumspect in his behaviour, though such behaviour was usually in respect to ceremonial matters, not to his spiritual state or moral behaviour. The moral aspect did, however, enter into such functions in some cases, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter.

The infrequent occurrence of true invocations, of direct appeal to the gods, is a very remarkable feature in Maori ritual. Even in the higher class of ceremonial formulae anything like prayer, entreaty, direct invoking, is often absent, and the power of efficacy of the ritual seems, in native belief, to be in the repetition of set phrases that, in many cases, seem to have no bearing on the subject being dealt with. Much might be written on this subject. We observe that in the fine ritual pertaining to ceremonies performed at the baptism of a child much of the matter is simply descriptive of the doings of the offspring of the primal parents; the fact that such offspring were supernatural beings seems to have been sufficient to impart *mana* to these ritual utterances.

As an illustration of the simplicity of some of the formulae employed by the ordinary people, to which even the name of "charm" can scarcely be applied, we may cite a curious custom formerly practised by persons suffering from the ordinary "barn-door" variety of stomach-ache. The hapless sufferer keeps repeating the following phrase: "*Meinga atu ki a mea he mate kopito toku*" ("Tell —— that I have a stomach-ache"), repeating the names of all the chiefs and priests he can think of. In this amazingly simple performance the idea is that the persons named all have relatives in the spirit-world, the spirits of their dead relatives of many generations, one of which spirits may

possibly be the cause of the distressing stomach-ache. Now, on hearing the name of its living relative mentioned, the spirit that is afflicting the sufferer may relent, its anger being appeased, whereupon it will cease to afflict the person; hence the repetition of the name is supposed to conciliate the troublesome *atua*, or spirit. It is worthy of note that even this simple phrase is termed a *karakia*. It may also be noted that the names repeated are those of chiefs and priests, not those of common folk.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Maori *karakia* is the fact that in but a few cases do we find a true invocation, anything that can be called an appeal to higher powers. When we do meet with such productions it is noted that they mostly belong to the higher type of ritual pertaining to matters of the highest importance, and not to such as deal with everyday affairs. Again, of these invocations the writer would classify very few as prayers, though a few connected with the *whare wananga* may be so placed. Many of the better type of *karakia* consist of a repetition of matter seemingly quite foreign to the subject under treatment, and this peculiarity it is that illustrates the mental attitude of the Maori in connection with his gods. This peculiar dissociation of ritual from its object relegates the *karakia maori* to the mists of antiquity, and places it in the same category with those of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt of pre-pyramid days. This singular phase of mentality has probably obtained among all races at some period of their history, for traces of it have been noted in many lands. We know that the ritualistic formulae employed by the early Egyptians bore a strong general resemblance to the average Maori charm—that is to say, they were but incantations. We know that Babylonian religion was supercharged with magic and mystery, and that even among civilized peoples of to-day are found survivals of very primitive forms of charms.

It will readily be understood that a very considerable proportion of Maori charms consisted of such as might be acquired and used by any person. Every child learned and repeated simple forms to accompany certain games, to cause rain to cease falling, &c. Every wrestler knew and employed a charm to strengthen himself, and another whereby to weaken his adversary. Every fisherman, fowler, and trapper possessed charms that he uttered over his paraphernalia. Every fighting-man learned charms used in various conditions pertaining to war, and every man knew at least one of the minor charms to avert the shafts of magic. Tree-climber and traveller, paddler and planter, bushman and bather, all possessed their private budget of charms. No man so lowly, no calling so humble, but it possessed a few necessary charms. Apart, however, from these generally known charms, there were a great number of others that were known only to professionals —that is, to persons who occupied the position of *tohunga*, or expert in one or more branches of knowledge. It is in this class that *tapu* pertains to ritual, and that a special and close study of the many forms of charms and ceremonial observances was necessary before a person would take his place as an expert and practise his profession. A large number of such charms and ceremonies pertained to all industries and arts, as agriculture, fishing, trapping, weaving, war, &c., and a *tohunga* might confine his studies to one or two of these subjects, or become a general practitioner.

Above this medium grade of ritual was the highest form, including that connected with the Supreme Being, and such ceremonial was known to and conducted by the higher class of *tohunga* only, such as were termed *tohunga ahurewa* and *tohunga tuahu*. Lower grades of experts not only did not practise the higher forms of ritual; they were not even acquainted with it. And here it must be noted that the term *tohunga* means simply "expert," and not "priest" or "shaman." It is applied to persons of the higher class of the priesthood and to the most inferior grade of necromancer, sorcerer, thaumaturgist, warlock, or shaman; also to an artisan, any person who is an adept at any particular craft. Carrying as it does this wide range of meaning, it behoves one to be careful in rendering its meaning into English when encountered in native traditions.

We see that any man may possess the knowledge of simple charms connected with his daily life or ordinary tasks, but the more important ritual charms and observances were retained by the priesthood or experts, and practised by them only, by which means they preserved their power over the people, a peculiarity of the priestly class in all lands and periods.

Some of the religious ceremonies of the Maori were performed in public, and were viewed by the people as important functions; while others, the more *tapu* and important ones, were conducted in the presence of but few persons, those immediately concerned. The most intensely *tapu* functions were those in which the Supreme Being was referred or appealed to.

It is clear that it was necessary that every man should be acquainted with a number of charms for use in daily life at times and places where the services of an expert were not procurable. So numerous, for instance, were evil omens and unlucky signs in Maori life that it was highly necessary that every person should be in a position to avert such influences. Again, in war, each man must know certain formulae to be repeated under certain conditions, as when pursuing or being pursued. The fisher and fowler also needed to be acquainted with certain charms, likewise the traveller. But in the higher branches of sacerdotal observances the *tohunga* came into his own. In the case of some functions that were public spectacles, such as the *kawa whare* and *whakainu waka* (ceremonies performed over new houses and new canoes of superior design), the opening function for a new *pa* (fortified village), and others, the participants in the function alone occupied the place where such ceremony was performed, while the public were grouped some distance away.

Karakia.

This word embraces any and all ceremonial ritual or formal utterances employed as charms or aids in any way. These range from simple expressions, such as "*Kuruki whakataha*," repeated by a person who meets with a slight mishap, such as striking one's foot against an obstacle, to the highest form of ritual, such as invocations to the Supreme Being. A *karakia* may be a meaningless jingle repeated by a child over his toys when playing, or a charm recited by a trapper over his traps, or the ritual of black magic. It may be an incantation, an invocation, or a charm. It may include a scant line of puèrile composition, euphonious but apparently meaningless, or be a long chant containing brief references to many acts and scenes in Maori anthropogeny, cosmogony, and other mythopoetic conceptions.

Dieffenbach remarks: "A *karakia* is a prayer or an incantation used on certain occasions, and in saying this there is generally no modulation of the voice, but syllables are lengthened and shortened, and it produces the same effect as the reading of the Talmud in synagogues." Like most writers on the Maori, Dieffenbach never became acquainted with the higher forms of *karakia*.

J. R. Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, remarks of our native folk that "They have rites and customs peculiar to themselves, which they perform on certain occasions; for instance, in forming friendships, and making peace, in announcing war, and burying their dead." Again, he writes: "When we were in New Zealand and the man in Dusky Bay was willing to come on board our ship, he pronounced a *carmen* or speech in very cadenced and solemn manner, which lasted about two minutes, holding at the same time a green branch in his hand. As soon as he had finished his ceremonious formulae he struck the ship with the branch just as he had done before he began the ceremony, and then threw the branch into the ship. In Queen Charlotte's Sound a party of Indians came aboard our ship, whom we had not seen before, and one of them held a green flag in his hand, while another person delivered a long, solemn, and cadenced speech." The above-mentioned rites would be performed in order

to avert or remove all evil influences that might emanate from the strange beings with whom the natives were brought into contact. Such rites would be of the *tamoe* class that deprive a dreaded person or people of power to harm the performers.

Dr. Shortland, in his *Maori Religion and Mythology*, writes as follows: "The term *karakia* is applicable to all forms of prayer to the *atua;* but there are a variety of names or titles to denote *karakia* having special objects. . . . It will be seen that a *karakia* is in some cases very like a prayer; in other cases, for the most part, an invocation of spirits of ancestors in genealogical order; in other cases, a combination of prayer and invocation." The use of the word "prayer" is not desirable in connection with these ritual utterances—it is misleading; and they but seldom rise to the level of invocation. This latter term implies a direct appeal to a supernormal power, whereas the vast majority of *karakia* contain nothing invocatory; the subject-matter is detached and its supposed effect an indirect one. The term "charm" would be much more applicable. Dr. Shortland here gives too much credit to Maori ritual formulae, as he gave too little to their powers of abstract thought. In the appendix to the above-mentioned work, the doctor defines the meaning of the term *karakia* as follows: "This word, generally rendered by 'charm,' does not signify what the word 'charm' would mean in its popular sense. The word 'invocation' conveys more correctly its meaning; for it is a prayer addressed to spirits of deceased ancestors, in form like a litany." I must, however, still maintain that the doctor assigns to *karakia* much too dignified a position. Possibly "incantation" would be more appropriate than the term "charm," but prayers or invocations they are not, in most cases.

There is an extension of this peculiar detached attitude that should receive some little attention. Not only were cryptic utterances, composed of expressions unconnected with the subject being considered, believed to have an important indirect effect, but ritual performances were also credited with similar powers. Certain actions and functions of a ceremonial and sacerdotal nature were believed to have also a certain indirect effect on *atua*, and to influence them in favour of the performers. This aspect of ritual is, of course, of world-wide distribution, and is still in evidence among the higher races of man.

Judge Fenton, in his little work on the origin of the Polynesian race, tells us that "A Maori *karakia* was an incantation or charm, a form of words which was effective simply by its own innate virtue, without reference to the state of mind of the person using it, and without the interventive assistance of any superior power giving it its effect." Now, I believe that it will be found that—at least in connection with the more important formulae—the possession of *mana* is essential in order to reap advantage from a repetition of the formula employed, and the innate powers of that *mana* emanate from the gods. The gods who live for ever are the vivifying force of *tapu*, and of at least the higher forms of *mana*. In vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* the late Colonel Gudgeon published a *karakia* employed in certain desperate cases, and continues (p. 122), "I shall not attempt to give any translation of the *karakia*, but provided always that the *tohunga* himself has *mana* it is an invocation of great potency."

Another paragraph in Colonel Gudgeon's paper alluded to above is well worthy of quotation: "Like the Brahmin, the old-time Maori believed that he had the power to overcome his enemies by the mere force of certain incantations which had been handed down to him from his ancestors, and were addressed for the most part to the tribal god. The modern Maori does not now believe that he has this power, for he realizes that however potent the *karakia* may be when uttered by a man of *mana*, it is a mere empty form of words when there is no *mana tangata* to back it. He is too shrewd not to comprehend that the *mana* which had been the birthright of the Maori from the time of Tiki down to the advent of the missionaries left him for ever on the day that he deserted the religion of his forefathers and embraced Christianity." In these extracts we observe what were the conclusions of one of the ablest writers on the Maori as to

the native belief in the power of *karakia*, and the vivifying force of such qualities and conditions as *mana* and *tapu* was believed to emanate from the gods. So firm was the belief of the Maori in *mana* that those who were held to possess it in a high degree were credited with amazing powers, such as control over, or power to influence, natural phenomena. For instance, such highly endowed men could, we are told, cause thunder to resound, raise or allay a storm, wind, and rain, cause the sun to shine, mist to disappear, and many other things equally marvellous.

Dr. Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, speaks of the native *karakia* as "prayers" —of natives praying to their gods—thus giving the reader the impression that such formulae resembled our own prayers; which they certainly do not. Polack, another early writer on the Maori, remarks that these *karakia* were "gibberish"; and doubtless many of them do seem to be so, but, still, the natives believed them to be effective.

In Jevons's *Comparative Religion* we note how the ritual of old-time Babylonia resembled that of the Maori folk: "Exorcisms . . . form by far the larger part of the sacred literature of Babylon preserved to us in cuneiform. . . . They have prefixed to them formulae which intimate that their effectiveness is due to the power of the gods who are mentioned in the formulae." Of the same people Montgomery tells us, in his *Religions of the Past and Present*, that "The use of incantations rested upon the widespread view held by people in a primitive state of culture, and surviving into advanced periods, of the power supposed to reside in words as such, when uttered by the properly authorized persons." The present writer feels assured that such power was not believed to reside in the formulary words as such, but that it emanated, directly or otherwise, from the gods: for in such manner did barbaric man build up his systems of ritual; in such channels did his mind work.

It would seem that all ritual acts performed by the Maori were accompanied by some *karakia*, some form of words, however simple such expressions might be. These formulae appear to have been equally as necessary as any ritual act with which they were connected. In many cases, indeed, no ceremonial act was performed; the desired condition, whatever it might be, was brought about, it was believed, by the mere repetition of the *karakia*. Now, inasmuch as the quality of *mana* is—or, rather, was—possessed by different individuals in varying degrees of intensity, it follows that the power to bring about desired results by means of *karakia* varied in the same manner. Thus, ordinary folk employed the more common charms only, such as were connected with everyday pursuits, ailments, dangers, &c. Such people knew nought of what we may call high-class ritual, that pertaining to the superior gods, to interference with natural laws, &c.

Concerning the manner in which these ritual utterances were rendered it may be said that *karakia* of everyday use, as employed by ordinary people, charms of an inferior type, were recited in a rhythmic manner, but not with the careful delivery and modulation of tone that marked the higher-class ritual. Invocations and other forms of appeal to the Supreme Being and the departmental gods, as also some other beings, were intoned by the reciters in a very peculiar rhythmic manner extremely pleasing to the Maori ear. That manner was euphonious, and, to the native ear, was marked by pleasing cadence and modulations of the voice that are almost undetected by our duller organs. A great desideratum was a smooth, rhythmical, long-continued flow of words, maintained as long as the reciter's breath held out—and the powers of natives in this connection are very remarkable. In the case of high-class ritual the chanting or intoning was often performed by two *tohunga* (priests). One of these would, with full lungs, commence the chant, and carry it smoothly on until his failing breath compelled him to desist, when his companion at once took up the recital and carried it on. By this means the longest form of ritual was intoned and concluded without a break; and on this fact great stress was laid. Such a rendering was held to be absolutely necessary to the successful issue

of the performance; any hiatus or break, any forgotten or misrendered word, spelled failure and disaster to the native mind. The word *tapepe* denotes the making of such errors in the recital of ritual matter. Dr. Emerson has told us that "Satisfactory utterances of those old prayer-songs of the Aryans, the mantras, was conditional likewise on it being a one-breath performance." Among our Maori folk the misrendering of an important *karakia* is said to have brought about the death of the hapless priest. The belief was that such a death was due to the offended gods, and the truth of the matter probably is that the fatalistic spirit of the race would so cause death.

The Maori had a prodigious faith in the potency of *karakia*, as employed by his ancestors. Should one ask a native how his ancestors managed to cross the great stretch of open sea between eastern Polynesia and New Zealand in their small, open craft, he will reply that they did so by means of *karakia*. These highly effective effusions calmed the rough seas, lulled stormy or adverse winds, and so sped a vessel on her way. Ask him how great forest-trees were felled with rude, thick-bitted stone tools, and he maintains that *karakia* enabled the task to be accomplished with reasonable despatch. In all activities of life our Maori firmly believed in this marvellous power of ritual utterances, charms, incantations, invocations, all of which he styles *karakia*. In his paper on the "*Tohunga Maori*," published in vol. 32 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Mr. S. Percy Smith seems to hold that, in remote times, the Maori employed *karakia* as a medium between active mental power and an objective. He apparently believes that the priests of yore practised hypnotism, telepathy, &c., and exercised the power of mind over matter in remarkable ways. Such a process would resolve the *karakia* employed into a vehicle as between mind and matter: but we cannot accept any theory that dispenses with the gods, whose power, in Maori eyes, was so essential as a vivifying force. The gods endow that man with his powers, his *mana*.

In some cases the chanters of religious ritual held out extended arms, or pointed towards the east or to the sun with one arm; while in others both hands were held out, open, palms upward, but the elbows kept close in to the side of the body. Other attitudes were adopted in special cases. When any very *tapu* ritual was to be recited the reciter would remove his clothing and go through the performance in a naked condition, save that he recognized the claims of decency so far as to tie a few green, leafy branchlets round his waist. In his work on northern India Crooke states that natives remove their clothing when about to address the gods, and that pollution is at the root of the matter. This is precisely the Maori attitude. Perhaps the most extraordinary attitude adopted by an officiating priest was that assumed when reciting certain magic ritual, when he stood on his head in a pit, as shown at p. 70 of vol. 16 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. A similar act is alluded to in vol. 25 of the same *Journal*, p. 109, though in this case the performer merely thrust his head into a small pit.

We have seen that this most comprehensive term *karakia* embraces an extensive range of subjects, from childish, meaningless jingles recited by children at play to high-class invocations to the Supreme Being. Our *tohunga maori*, or native priest, had in his budget a great variety of charms. Thus, he would have one whereby to cure toothache; others to expel demons, to render a person fleet-footed, to slay by means of magic, to cause a flood to subside, a kite to fly well, rats and birds to enter snares, an enemy force to become faint-hearted, the land to contract for travellers and to be drawn out for enemies, to stay the sun in its course, to produce thunder, rain, mist, &c., and to cause them to cease; yet others to cause a person to be invisible, to bring ocean monsters to aid distressed mariners, to destroy food products, to remove *tapu* or cause weapons to be effective, to attract fish or subdue a *taniwha*, to join a couple or divorce them, to usher a person into the world or consign him to the spirit-world, to ward off magic spells or sharpen a stone tool, to produce good crops or a fine day, to fell a tree or succour a choking person, to instil desirable qualities into a child or put a person to

sleep, to cause a woman to conceive or to prevent conception. This list might be lengthened to a tedious extent, for there was scarcely an activity in Maori life but had some form of ritual formula connected with it. The *karakia* connected with war, agriculture, fishing, woodcraft, magic, &c., are innumerable. In many cases such formulae had special names assigned to them. Thus, in connection with the class of charms termed *kawa*, each one had its specific name. Again, in relation to the series of fowlers' charms known as *kaha*, we find that each one had its special name, as Tuota, Motumotu, &c. When living in the Tuhoe district I collected the names of eighty-two such formulae, but many others had no special names, so far as I could learn. These latter would be alluded to in such a manner as *karakia tohi* (baptismal ritual), *karakia tuapa* (charm to ward off ill luck), and so on.

Any ritual performance of any importance was performed early in the morning, or about dusk, as a rule, though exceptions tc this were bound to occur, as, for example, in time of war. The time generally favoured was about dawn, and the reason lying behind this preference was the very old belief that ritual utterances and acts are more effective when carried out on an empty stomach. Thus, when such performances were conducted in the morning, the people of the village community were not allowed to partake of food, or even to kindle a fire, until the ceremony was over. This primitive superstition anent fasting was introduced into Christianity, and has still much force in the Roman Catholic Church, though almost discarded by less superstitious sects. In his work on the native religions of Mexico and Peru A. Reville writes thus: "Fasting is one of the most general and ancient forms of adoration. It rests, in the first place, on an instinctive feeling that a man is more worthy to present himself before the divine beings when fasting than when stuffed with food; and, in the second place, on the fact that fasting is shown by experience to promote dreams, hallucinations, ecstasies, and so forth, which have always been considered as so many forms of communication with the deity. It was only later that fasting became the sign and index of mourning, and therefore of sincere repentance and profound sorrow." Among the Maori fasting was practised by near relatives of the dead, by mediums of spirit gods when some oracular utterance was desired, and in a number of other cases. Another rule connected with these ceremonial acts among the Maori was one forbidding men to approach their wives during the performance, and this applied to other phases of *tapu*. Those persons who took no part in a performance, either as actors or spectators, were enjoined to remain in their huts until it was over, lest their *wairua* (souls, spirits) be harmfully affected by the powers of the *karakia* employed.

Notable features in connection with Maori religion and ritual were the institutions of *tapu*, pollution, purification, conciliation of *atua*, immersion, sprinkling, confession, absolution, and, as we have seen, fasting. Ceremonial feasts were also common, and formed the concluding act of a great many ritual performances. As to fasting, abstention from food was demanded in many cases wherein a person was concerned in some religious performance, as in connection with war, sickness, death, or any condition or activity into which a state of *tapu* entered. Purificatory rites were performed in connection with many matters, and the act of *whakanoa*, or removal of *tapu*, often comes under this heading. A very interesting rite of this nature was performed over persons who were about to engage in some enterprise that imposed upon participants a condition of intense *tapu*. Thus, when fighting-men were about to go forth on a raid into enemy country they came under the sway and *tapu* of Tu, the supreme war-god of Maoriland. It was on this account that a *tohunga* performed over them a rite in order to render them clear-minded, to endow them with presence of mind and other desirable qualities, and to absolve them from all harmful influences and effects of any misdemeanour, or act offensive to the laws of *tapu*. In some cases, at least, as we have seen in the foregoing remarks on divination, ethical purity was demanded ere a person was allowed to participate in a rite—a factor that marks the introduction of morality into religion. On the east coast of the North Island, the first

act of a *tohunga* who was called upon to attend a sick person was to call upon his patient to confess all his peccadilloes—all acts offensive to religious or moral laws, all *hara* and *rarurarn*. This act of confession was followed by an absolutory rite, the performance of which left the patient in a condition of moral and spiritual purity, and so rendered him a fit subject for further ritual performances designed to relieve him. The *tapu* of the gods appealed to in such cases was the cause of this preliminary purification of the patient. The absolutory rite acted as a *wetewete i nga rarurarn* (a loosening or setting free from all pernicious hindrances), and was known as the *hirihiri* rite; *e ruke ana i nga mate*—it removes all troubles and disabilities. When this rite is performed over warriors about to engage in fighting it is called *tohi taua*. In this case, as in others, it was accompanied by sprinkling with water. Lustral rites were often marked by ablution, sprinkling, or immersion. In the case of sprinkling, as in the *tohi taua* and some other rites, a green branchlet of *karamu* (*Coprosma*) was employed as a sprinkling agent. In his work on northern India Crooke tells us that, among the people of Chota Nagpur, a branch of the *karam* tree (*Neuclea parviflora*) was utilized in ceremonial functions—a curious similarity in names.

In some regions, when a people suffered from an epidemic, some person was selected to whose body was loosely attached a stipes or stalk of bracken (*Pteris aquilina*). The priestly expert then recited a charm or invocation over him, and he waded into the water and immersed himself therein. While so covered by water he released the fern-stalk and allowed it to float away. The stalk as it drifted away was supposed to bear with it the evil influences that had been affecting the people. In this case, as in others, the object of the immersion seems to have been complete insulation of the medium or subject.

The Use of Fire in Ritual Performances.

The kindling of a special fire in connection with what we may term religious functions was a marked feature of Maori ritual. In Maori myth this element is of celestial origin, inasmuch as it was sent down to earth by the sun as a boon to mankind. It is personified in one Mahuika, and so fire is alluded to as a person, not only in folk-lore but often also in ordinary speech. The heavenly origin of fire may possibly have been the cause of its being introduced into ritual performances, but the practice is so ancient a one that conjecture is futile. Fire-worship, and the use of sacred fire by a priesthood, carries us back to very ancient times of Asia, and many Polynesian practices, usages, and beliefs were probably carried eastward from that centre. Sacred fire was employed by peoples of southern Asia. In Montgomery's monograph on the religion of the Veda he shows that priests of the fire cult seem to have become the recognized aristocracy of the priesthood, even in prehistoric times. "For it had early become fashionable to pour the articles of food and drink, which were the most usual sacrificial offerings, into fire. The fire that consumed the offerings became thereby sacred."

We thus see that fire — what may be termed sacerdotal fire — may have been deemed sacred because of its origin, or because offerings to gods were cast into it. Our Maori, however, rendered fire *tapu* in another way. A special fire was generated by the officiating *tohunga*, an act accompanied by the recital of a *karakia*—a fire-kindling formula; this fire was to be an important element in a rite about to be performed. In order to endow the fire with the necessary powers he would then locate in it the *atua* (god, or gods) whose aid he was about to seek, whose influence would render the rite effective. As the Maori expresses it, "*Ka whakanohoia nga atua ki taua ahi*" ("The gods were located in that fire"). In India priests recited what Hewitt, in his *Primitive Traditional History*, terms "kindling stanzas," when a sacred fire was generated. Some of these fires were so kindled on an earthern altar made in the form of a woman. This was assuredly a singular feature of the performance, and it reminds one of the Polynesian view of fire-generation, as shown in the

use of the word *hika*. This word illustrates a curious usage. It is employed to denote the generation of fire by friction, and also the generation of children. "*Ka tahuri ia ki te hika i taua ahi*" ("He set about kindling his fire"); "*Naku taua tamaiti; naku tonu i hika*" ("That child is mine; I myself begat him"). This word also came to be used to denote the performance of a rite in connection with which a fire was actually generated, or the mere motions of fire-generation gone through by the priest: hence such expressions as "*Ka hikaia te moana*," and "*Ka hikaia te hau*."

The specific names of *ahi tapu* (sacred fires) are very numerous, for a special name was applied to a fire kindled in connection with any rite. Thus in many cases the rite became known by such name. The *taumata* or *tahoka* rite was alluded to as *Ahi taumata;* the *whakaene* rite as *Ahi whakaene*, and so on. The word *umu*, denoting a steam-oven, was used in the same double sense, as also its variant form *imu*. In the Tuhoe district alone I collected twenty-eight special names for *tapu* fires, as formerly employed by the people, also twenty-one names for special *umu tapu* (sacred ovens) in which food was cooked for ceremonial feasts. These fire-names may be said to apply to fires employed for two purposes — (1) as in connection with the actual performance of a rite, (2) as in the preparation of food for the ritual feast that often followed such performances. The same remark applies to the *tapu* ovens mentioned above.

Whenever a priest was engaged in generating an *ahi tapu* he chanted a *karakia hika ahi* (fire-generating ritual). A number of these charms have been collected, of which the following is a sample. It is one employed in former times by the experts of the Ngati-Kahungunu Tribe:—

Hika ake au i taku ahi
Te ahi na wai ?
Te ahi na Maui
Maui-tikitiki a Taranga
Ko wai taku kaunoti ?
Ko Tu-te-hurutea
Ko te kaunoti a Maui
Ko wai taku hika ?
Ko Te Tuke-o-rangi
Ko wai taku hika ?
Ko Toroi-a-pawa i a Takutaku,
I a Puhoumea
Ka tu taku ahi, ko te ahi o Tongaruru
Ka tu taku ahi, ko Tonga-apai
Ka tu taku ahi, ko Maunganui
Ka tu taku ahi, ko te piere tu
Ka tu taku ahi, ko te piere tau
Ka tau te ahi na Mahuika.

(I generate my fire. The fire of whom ? The fire of Maui; Maui-tikitiki born of Taranga. What is [the name of] my *kaunoti?* It is Tu-te-hurutea, the *kaunoti* of Maui. What is [the name of] my *hika?* It is Tuke-o-rangi. What is my *hika?* It is Toroi-a-pawa of Takutaku, of Puhoumea. My fire ignites; it is the fire of Tongaruru. My fire ignites; it is [fire of] Tonga-apai. My fire ignites; it is [fire of] Maunganui. My fire ignites; it is the *piere tu*. My fire ignites; it is the *piere tau*. The fire of Mahuika appears.)

Kaunoti is the name of the grooved piece of wood on which the *hika*, or rubbing-stick, is worked in generating fire by friction. Maui, in Maori myth, is the fire-procurer, he who obtained fire for mankind from Mahuika, the guardian or goddess of fire. The assigning of proper names to such objects as fire-generating implements is quite in accordance with Maori usage. In lines 13 and 14 there are probably allusions to active volcanoes in the Tongan Archipelago. Tongaruru is said to be the name of an active volcano at Hawaiki—that is, in Polynesia. Maunganui was certainly an active volcano in Polynesia, anent which we have a very interesting native tradition collected from the Maori. Concerning the expressions *piere tu* and *piere tau* the writer can venture no remarks as to their meaning.

The following list contains some of the names of *ahi tapu*, or ritual fires, as formerly employed by the Maori:—

Ahi marae: This was a fire kindled in connection with rites performed over men about to start on a war expedition. It seems to have been really an *umu*, or oven in which food was cooked for the ceremonial feast. The preparation of the steam-oven included, of course, the kindling of fire. It seems to have been also known as *ahi marae taua.*

Ahi horokaka: This was another sacred fire connected with war ritual, and the recital of charms to endow the warriors with courage, &c. A small modicum of food, such as a *kumara* tuber, was cooked at it, and eaten ceremonially by the officiating priest, a portion being retained by him to be carried in his *kete pure*, or *tapu* wallet. This fragment was used in some way in connection with rites performed during the expedition.

Ahi taumata; ahi tahoka; ahi ta whakataumata: These names were applied to a ritual fire kindled by a priest when a force drew near the village it was to attack. At or over this fire, or while it was being generated, formulae were recited with the object of rendering the enemy unsuspicious, to bring on bad weather, and so cause them to be off their guard. One charm was to *rotu* the enemy — to affect his courage, &c., and so weaken his fighting-powers.

Ahi manawa (literally "heart fire"): This name applies to a fire kindled in order to roast thereat the heart of the first enemy slain in battle. The name also denotes some form of red glow seen in the heavens just above the horizon: that is the *ahi manawa* of Tu, and it was first caused by the ritual fire kindled by Tu and others during the fratricidal war that raged among the offspring of the primal parents, Sky and Earth. Te Ahi-manawa is a place-name not infrequently met with, and in most cases probably denotes a place where the above rite has been performed. The *ahi manawa* really pertains to the *whangai hau* rite.

Ahi mahitihiti: This was one of the lesser fires, not highly *tapu*. It was used in forecasting the future, and in ascertaining the bravest men of an armed force—an institution that was utilized prior to an advance against an enemy.

Ahi tirehurehu: This seems to be an *ahi manawa*. At this fire the hearts of slain enemies were roasted, or scorched, in a rite known as *ka-mahunu*, which had the effect of rendering the surviving enemies faint-hearted and nerveless, causing them to be afflicted by Tu-mata-rehurehu, who inflicts many such *pahunu*, or nervous ills, upon man.

Ahi taitai: This sacred generated fire seems to have been employed for different purposes, or rites for varied purposes were performed at a special fire bearing that name. It was a very *tapu* fire, I am told. By means of reciting the following formula the gods were located in the fire—that is, the power and influence of the gods—and so it became *tapu*. The rite-performers relied upon those gods to give effect to their petitions, whatever they might be:—

Taitai, taitai, taitai,
Te kau nunui, te kau roroa
Te rupe tu, te rupe pae
Pekepeke hauaitu te manu waero rua
Te hau e tu nei, taitai
Mai ra a tu, mai ra a pae
Pekepeke hauaitu te hau e tu nei.

Tutakangahau, who supplied this charm, might possibly have known its meaning, but I must decline to attempt a translation. The expressions *te kau nunui* and *te kau roroa* (the assembly of great ones and the assembly of lofty ones) he applied to certain offspring of the primal parents. A *taitai* charm is given at p. 202 of Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* (second edition), but the translation is more than dubious. At the *ahi taitai* were performed divers rites whereby the life-principle of man, of land, of forests, and waters was protected, and their welfare and fruitfulness assured. Thus it was looked upon as the *hau* or *mauri* of a village community, a symbol of the protecting power of the gods. At this fire also were performed rites connected with the taking of birds and other forest products, and with firstfruits offerings of such products to Tane.

Ahi matini: This was a form of the *ahi taitai*, according to Tutaka of Tuhoe—a rite performed by fowlers, game-trappers. Thus, when the bird-snaring season commenced, then the *matini* fire was kindled by the local expert in ritual matters. Of the first batch

of birds taken in the snares, one was roasted at that fire, and eaten by the priest, who recited certain charms as a *taumaha*. This had the effect of lifting the tapu from the forest and its denizens, as also of placating the gods of the forest, of whom the chief one is Tane. In this rite other birds were cooked at a separate fire, and eaten by the fowling-party. The snaring of birds might then be proceeded with; the forest was open to the fowlers—its products were *noa*, or common, void of *tapu*. In some cases the single bird cooked was not eaten by the priest, but was deposited on a tree "for Tane to eat." At Samoa the word *matini* is applied to offerings of goods made to *aitu* (spirits). Another native authority spoke of the *ahi matini* as the *ahi ka huka*, *ahi huka*, and *ahi rau huka*. These names refer to the *rau huka*, strips of the leaves of *Cordyline australis* that were used in making bird-snares, and a few of which were cast into the *ahi matini* during the performance of the rite.

Ahi tute; ahi rokia: These were names of *karakia*, or charms, employed by individual bird-snarers.

Ahi purakau; ahi tumuwhenua: These were sacred fires kindled in the forest by an expert when men were about to fell a tree from which to fashion a canoe, or house-timbers, &c. The object was to placate Tane and other gods, whose realm the forest is, and the rite was performed only when a tree of the more highly valued species was to be felled. The performance was a very singular one.

Ahi parapara: A peculiar rite performed when a young man catches, for the first time, a number of eels; a practice of the Awa folk of the Bay of Plenty. Like some other rites, this was perhaps not a universal usage. Again, ritual performances, in many cases, differed in different districts. The expression *umu parapara* seems to have been employed by the Tuhoe folk as denoting a magic rite performed in order to avenge an injury, as by the slaying of a person by magic arts.

Ahi amoamohanga: A rite connected with offerings of firstfruits (*amoamohanga*) to the gods. The *taumaha* was a rite performed over firstfruits of birds and fish, also over food-supplies at other times, in order to remove all harmful influences.

Ahi torongu; ahi patu torongu: A fire at which was performed a rite for the purpose of destroying the *torongu*, a species of caterpillar that infested the *kumara* or sweet-potato plant.

Ahi tamawahine; umu tamawahine: A rite performed over the product of two *tapu kumara* plants in a plantation, such tubers being cooked in connection with the *tapu*-removing rite prior to the lifting of the crop. The *ruahine* ate the tubers cooked at this sacred fire. *Ruahine* is a title denoting a woman who takes part in the performance of any rites; a woman was often employed in *tapu*-removing ceremonial.

Ahi ta ngutu; ahi tanga ngutu: A ceremonial function to mark the tattooing of a young woman's lips and chin. The fire and ceremony were *tapu* because the operation caused the blood of the subject to flow. A ritual feast marked this and most other functions.

Ahi pure: A *tapu* fire kindled in connection with a very sacred rite performed over bones of the dead when exhumed for redisposal elsewhere.

Ahi whakaene: This was a fire at which magic rites were performed. If a party of travellers chanced to see a lizard in the path being traversed, the rite termed *whakautuutu* was performed in order to avert the evil omen. The *ahi whakaene* was kindled, the lizard cut into pieces and cast into the fire, together with a lock of hair from the head of the person who first saw the creature. A charm was also repeated in order to divert the *aitua* (evil omen) of the *kotipu*, as such a dreaded encounter was called. It is possible that, in some cases, no actual fire was kindled. One explanation of this name was: "The *ahi whakaene* was a *tapu* fire at which man was destroyed. A priest would generate the fire—that is, he would recite the *karakia hika ahi* [fire-generating ritual]."

Ahi whakamatiti: A form of magic rite performed in order to afflict or destroy persons. One old native of Tuhoe gave *ahi horokaka* as being a similar rite performed in war. The spirits or souls of the enemy were caused to enter the fire and were there destroyed or rendered harmless (*Ka rotua nga wairua o nga hoariri ki roto i taua ahi*).

Ahi tautahi: An east coast name.

Ahi o Matika: An east coast name; an *ahi tapu* (sacred fire) employed in rites.

Ahi tautai: An east coast name. Probably the same as *ahi tautahi.* A "magic ritual fire." An *atua* called Te Ngu, an ancestral spirit god, was located in this fire to furnish the destructive power so necessary in rites of black magic. To trespass on a place where this fire had been kindled spelt death. It is sometimes alluded to as *te ahi a Te Ngu* (the fire of Te Ngu).

Ahi komau: This expression is occasionally used as though denoting magic ritual, though it is generally applied to subterranean fire.

Ahi tapairu: A fire or oven whereat was cooked food for the *tapairu* (*tapu* first-born female of a family of rank) at ritual feasts.

Ahi tuakaha: Fire or oven at which food was cooked for the priest.

Ahi marae: Fire or oven at which food was cooked for warriors.

Ahi ruahine: Fire or oven at which food was cooked for the *ruahine.*

Ahi tukupara: Fire or oven at which food was cooked for the public.

These last five names were employed by the Tuhoe folk.

Ahi pahikahika: This expression denotes any fire generated by friction, for whatever purpose. From *hika* (= to generate).

The *karakia* (charm, incantation, ritual) repeated over a fire to be used for ritual purposes imparted *tapu* to that fire. The following is a specimen of such *karakia ahi,* or fire ritual:—

E Tu E! Homai ra taku ahi kia hikaia
Hei ahi patu atua mahaku ki te po
E whati i au te tini o te po
E whati i au te tini o te ao
He tapu te rangi te whakamaua ai Tu . . e
Ka rangahau, ka rangahaua ki te pouriuri
Ka rangahaua ki te po tangotango
Tuaranga hiwi roa o te whenua e takoto nei . . e
I rerea, i rerea ki te rangi inumia
I rerea, i rerea ki te rangi inutai
Ka hoki, ka hoki nga atua kai tangata
Ka hoki nga mana huna tangata
Hoki mai ki muri hei kore rawa atu.

Herein the operator asks Tu for aid in his fire-kindling—that is, to give *mana* to his rite—and states his intention of bringing opposing gods to confusion. This Tu is alluded to as Tu-matere in some cases, and in one formula we find the line *Kimihia he kura, ko Tu matatere te ahi,* of which I can offer no explanation. I am inclined to think that the Tu alluded to in the ritual above is Tu-nui-a-te-ika (personified form of comets), one of the principal gods of the Tuhoe Tribe, from whom the formula was obtained.

The expressions *ahi tahito, ahi tipua, ahi umuroa, ahi komau, ahi a Ue, ahi a Ue-tapeka,* and *ahi o Tapeka* were all applied to volcanic and subterranean fire, which is personified in one Tapeka, or Hine-i-tapeka, a sister of Mahuika (personified form of fire in this world). The *ahi umuroa* is said to have been seen in the land of Tawhiti-pamamao by ancestors of the Maori. *Ahi puaroa* is another expression met with; it is said to have originated with Tama-te-uira (personified form of lightning). It may be connected with Samoan *pusaloa* (comet), or *puaroa,* termed a *whetu* (star) by the Maori, who, however, certainly alludes to comets as *whetu* occasionally.

Any place where a ritual fire had been kindled remained *tapu,* and, should it be trespassed on, then the offending person would suffer some dire affliction, or even death. One marvels why such spots were not made *noa,* or common, instead of being left as danger-spots. I remember hearing a native directing others how to find a grove of *Phormium* at a place that had formerly been a clearing in the forest and the site of a

hamlet, but, having been abandoned for about forty years, was covered with second growth. He said, "Keep along the margin of the old forest until you are half-way up the hill, and then strike across the face of the slope." The other naturally inquired why they were not to take a more direct route straight up the hill. The answer was brief and convincing: "*He ahi kei kona*" ("There is a fire at that place"). They at once knew that, half a century before, a *tapu* fire had been kindled at that place, and that the *tapu* had never been lifted.

In some villages a person was employed specially to kindle ritual fires. Such persons were in some cases *taunga atua* (mediums of the gods), and the post was prized on account of the facilities it afforded for the acquisition of esoteric lore. These sacerdotal fire-kindlers were known as *takuahi*.

Travellers who had to traverse lands belonging to other tribes—land that possessed, in native belief, all sorts of malign influences towards strangers—would perform the *whakau* rite. This warded off the shafts of black magic and all pernicious influences; it placated the gods; it lessened the oppressive rigour of *tapu*. On the return of the party to their home village they had lifted from them the protective *tapu* of the gods that had protected them during their journey: *Na, kua puhuki nga atua* (Then the [powers of the] gods were blunted). In performing the *whakau* rite a fire was kindled and some article of food cooked. A part of this was eaten, while a small portion was carried by each traveller in his belt, *hai arai i nga makutu* (as a means of warding off magic).

A firestick was used by a person performing a rite in order to dispel a frost that threatened the crops. The operator took the brand to the *mianga* (urinal) of the village and there waved it to and fro as he repeated an apparently senseless formula called *tatai whetu*—surely a quaint mode of preventing a frost. A somewhat similar performance has been reported from Ireland.

In a singular rite performed over a sick person the officiating shaman procured some *puha* (a herb), and an ember from a dead fire, passed these under the left thigh and then waved them towards the heavens.

Tipihau, of Maunga-pohatu, once told me of a singular form of *tuapa*, or "warding-off rite." A post was set up to represent the *wairua* (spirit or soul) of a deceased person. At this post charms were recited by a priest with a view to preventing the return of the spirit of the dead to annoy the living. He repeated the *ahi* charm, and as he did so he rubbed a stick on the earth, as though generating fire. Then, in order to endow the proceedings with *mana*, he would, by means of his magic powers, cause thunder to sound, or raise the wind called *tutakangahau*—this as a climax. The *tapu* was then taken off the proceedings and performers; a woman (called a *ruahine* when so employed) being employed in this last function.

In yet another way did fire enter into Maori ritual performances, and that was in ceremonial fire-walking. In New Zealand we are told that the act was performed in order to give effect or prestige to some rite. Evidently this singular custom or function has been introduced, during past centuries, from Polynesia. It was practised at Tahiti, and exhibitions of the feat have been given during late years by Tahitians, and also by Fijians. Inasmuch as Europeans have walked barefooted over the hot stones of the "fiery furnace," it can scarcely be said that experts alone can come unscathed through it, or that it is a very dangerous performance. The *Journal of the Polynesian Society* contains accounts of several of these performances. In his history of Aotea the Rev. T. G. Hammond states that this fire-walking act was a somewhat common performance in New Zealand in former times. A native tradition has it that the name of Paraparaumu (a place near Pae-kakariki) is connected with a performance of fire-walking at that place. In vol. 34 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, at p. 93, may be found an account of one of these fire-walking performances, as related to me by Himiona Tikitu,

of Te Teko. I was informed that this particular exhibition was given by Te Hahae, a noted warlock, in order to impart *mana* (power, prestige) to a certain rite of magic that he performed, the aim of which was to destroy certain enemies of his. The fire was of the same kind as those employed in Polynesia and Fiji—that is, it was an *umu*. This is the name of the steam pit or oven in which all Polynesians cook their food. A pit of circular form and suitable size is dug in the earth and filled with dry fuel, on top of which are placed a number of stones. These are usually waterworn stones of a kind that are not cracked by heat. When the fire has burned down these stones are extremely hot, and are, by means of a stick, arranged in a fairly level manner at the bottom of the pit. They are then covered with a fairly thick layer of herbage, leaves, &c., on which the food to be cooked is placed. Water is now sprinkled on the whole with a liberal hand, and this water, on coming in contact with the heated stones, produces the steam that cooks the food. The final act is the covering of the pit in order to contain the steam. Another layer of greenstuff is placed over the food, a series of mats over the leaves, and then the whole is covered with earth, which is beaten down so as to prevent the steam escaping. This mode of cooking cannot be excelled. Now, when such an *umu* is prepared for the purpose of a ceremonial exhibition of fire-walking the process of preparation ceases at the levelling of the heated stones in the pit, and it is across this mass of heated stones that the performers walk. Such an *umu*, however, is not a small one, as employed in cooking a family dinner, but an extensive one in which a huge fire is kindled. One made at Fiji is said to have been "12 ft. to 18 ft. square." The one walked over by Colonel Gudgeon was about 12 ft. across, the stones used being large. The fire of logs was kindled at dawn and burned until 2 p.m., which would be not less than nine hours. The account of this particular feat may be found in vol. 8 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 58. Other papers on this peculiar function may be found at pp. 188 and 269 of the same volume; also in vol. 3 of the same *Journal*, p. 72; vol. 4, p. 155; vol. 10, p. 53; and vol. 12, p. 191.

This huge *umu* used by Polynesian fire-walkers was there known as *umu ti*, presumably because roots of the *ti* (*Dracoena*) were cooked therein. I am not aware that any special name was assigned to the *umu* used for the fire-walk in New Zealand, or that they were made so large. It is shown in the various papers on the subject published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* that this fire-walking act can be traced back to Asia. An interesting feature of the function is the fact that this semi-ceremonial fire-walking of Polynesia seems to be a connecting-link between the ordinary *umu kai* (food-oven) and the *umu karakia* (ritual oven). At Tahiti there seems to be some connection between the fire-walk function and Hina, the moon-goddess (personified form of the moon).

As an illustration of the use of *umu kai* in ritual performances we may note the following. These four ovens of food were cooked as provender for the ceremonial feast held immediately after the baptismal rite known as *tua* had been performed over an infant.

1. *Umu tuakaha*—for the officiating priest.
2. *Umu potaka*—for the fighting-men (*arero whero*).
3. *Umu ruahine*—for the *kaihau* women.
4. *Umu tukupara*—for the bulk of the people.

The terms *wahine kaihau* and *wahine kairangi* were applied to women who acted as *ruahine*—that is, who took part in ritual performances whenever it was necessary that the female element should be introduced, as in the case of the removal of *tapu*. The food cooked in these different ovens could be eaten only by the persons for whom it was so prepared: this was a matter concerning which the Maori was extremely punctilious. The above names are those employed among the Tuhoe Tribe, but such names differed to some extent in other districts.

Other names of these *umu kai* at ritual feasts are as follows:—

Umu whangai—for the *ariki*, or principal chief.
Umu pera—for the warriors, fighting-men.
Umu kirihau—for the officiating priest. (Syn. *imu tamaahu*.)
Umu tara—for the officiating priest at the *pure* rite.
Imu mata tapu; umu kaha—for the officiating priest.
Imu pararahi; umu marae; umu rauroha; umu mataki tini—for the ordinary people.
Imu kohukohu—connected with fishing; probably the ritual performances when a new net was first used.

The *imu horokaka* is probably the same as the *ahi horokaka* rite, but we do not know that any ceremonial feast was held in connection with them. Such is the *umu tamoe*, a magic rite performed in order to deprive enemies of strength, of power to avenge a defeat, &c. (from *tamoe* = to repress, &c.) *Umu hiki* is a rite by means of which a whole clan may be forced to leave a district and settle elsewhere; it renders them nervous, apprehensive, and sadly impairs their self-confidence and courage. The *umu kotore* is a marriage feast; but the expression is also employed to denote the whole of the ceremonial performances on such occasions. The *umu puru rangi* is a *tuaumu i te rangi*, a rite to influence weather conditions, to cause winds to drop. This word *tuaumu*, as also its variant form *tuaimu*, is employed as a name for certain spells or charms, most of which are to deprive persons, as enemies or adversaries, of power. It is also used as a verb carrying a similar meaning. All these four words, *umu*, *imu*, *tuaumu*, and *tuaimu*, are also used to denote the scarf in tree-felling. *Umu pongipongi* is a magic rite performed in order to destroy human life, and *pongipongi* is assuredly connected with Tongan *fakabongi* (murder).

The *umu whangai* noted above, or perhaps a rite of that name, seems to apply to a ceremonial performance connected with one's condition of *tapu:* it is a *whangai i te tapu o te tangata*—a honorific ceremony to enhance such *tapu*.

In cases where a small quantity of cooked food was required in connection with a *tapu*-lifting rite—for example, a single tuber of *kumara* (sweet potato), a very small steam-oven was made, a diminutive pit of about 6 in. diameter.

The Use of Hair in Ritual Performances.

Having dealt with the elements of water and fire as connected with Maori ritual performances, we now come to certain mediums connected with the human body. Of these the most important is hair, for it entered into many ceremonial observances, sometimes in a very strange manner. The peculiar *tapu* pertaining to human hair would, to a great extent, be caused by that of the human head, which was the most highly *tapu* part of man. Among the Maori folk the act of hair-cutting might be termed a religious ceremony. With the Tuhoe folk this act was often performed at a place called the *wai kotikoti*, or *wai whakaika*, a pool or stream set aside for the performance of rites. Ceremonial hair-cutting entered largely into Maori ritual. When persons were subjected to certain ceremonies for various purposes, the cutting of the hair of such person was often one of the concluding acts. The inner meaning of this ceremonial act has never been satisfactorily explained.

The Rev. R. Taylor, in his work *Te Ika a Maui*, states that the most important functions of a sacerdotal nature differed considerably as in different districts. Thus, at one place the advent of the new year was the most important event, and on this occasion ritual performances were held. These would probably be firstfruits rites, including invocations to the stars. At another place, says the above writer, the most *tapu* day of the year was that appointed for hair-cutting. He continues: "The people assembled from all the neighbouring parts, often more than a thousand in number, the operation being commenced with *karakia*, the operator and his obsidian substitute for scissors being

thus rendered peculiarly sacred. . . . In some places the hair was cut only in the morning; at Taupo, in the evening. The hair in other parts was laid upon the *tuahu*, or altar, whilst the *karakia* was uttered, and left there, the *tuahu* being in the *wahi tapu*, or sacred grove." Mr. White also has a note to the effect that, in some cases, many persons had their hair cut at one time, that all persons fasted until the performance was over, and that no fires might be kindled, save a special one in which the shorn hair was burned, though it might be buried, or deposited at the *tuahu*. This general hair-cutting performance may have been practised at some places, but it was certainly by no means a universal usage. Such a ceremonial, moreover, would of course not apply to persons of low social status who were devoid of *tapu*. This writer also gives a formula (*karakia*), a charm that was repeated over the flake of obsidian that was used to cut hair with. The laying of the severed hair on the *tuahu*, accompanied as the act was by the recital of some formula, would probably mean that it was used as a kind of offering to the gods in such a ceremony as that termed *whangai*.

The depositing of human hair at sacred places seems to have been a fairly widespread Polynesian custom. In his account of human sacrifice in the Society Isles, Ellis states that some of the hair of the victim was laid before the gods. In a description of ceremonies of the Paumotu Group in vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 134, occurs the following: "On the *ranga*, a kind of altar, were the *fare tini atua*, a kind of reliquary in which was deposited the hair of the dead whom it was desired to honour. It was these bunches of hair that formed, scarcely fifty years ago, the chief objects of adoration in our Polynesian islands."

As an illustration of the unpleasant restrictions pertaining to a person who had cut a *tapu* man's hair, the following extract from a missionary record quoted in Mr. S. Percy Smith's *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century* is of interest: "Rauroha . . . had suffered whilst on board from one of their superstitions: he had cut and dressed his brother's hair prior to his coming on board, and therefore dared not go below lest he should be killed by the *atua* (god). The weather being bad, he had been obliged to squat for three nights under the longboat."

Cook remarks that while lying in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770 he saw human hair tied to the branches of trees; and other early writers have recorded similar statements. Human hair has been found thrust into the crevices of rocks, and in other strange places. It is probable that, in many cases, hair was so concealed by a man who had had his hair cut, lest it be found by some evilly disposed person who might employ it as a medium in sympathetic magic. There must, however, have been other superstitions connected with hair, or, naturally, he would have destroyed it.

Some of our early writers on the Maori could not understand the condition of *tapu*, and did not grasp the fact that, in many cases, hair-cutting was practically a religious rite. Thus, Nicholas writes as follows of a native who left the European visitors in order to submit himself to such an operation: "As there was no apparent motive for his immediate departure, we rallied him on his not being able to live for a few days apart from his wife, but he readily confessed that this was not his reason for leaving us; and the one he gave was puerile enough—that he wanted to get his hair cut." Elsewhere this writer mentions seeing a man cutting his wife's hair, which he did with a flake of obsidian, cutting the fore part quite close, and leaving all the hair on the back of the head untouched. The operator carefully collected all the hair cut off, which he carried off to some place on the outskirts of the village, probably to the *tuahu*. He explained that the hair was *tapu*, hence he must be careful as to its disposal, otherwise he would incur the anger of the gods. He would not allow Nicholas to touch the obsidian flakes he had used, saying that they were *tapu*. Nicholas ridiculed these superstitions, and so annoyed the native, who naturally retaliated by ridiculing the Christian teachings and myths introduced by the companions of Nicholas.

Cook became acquainted with this *tapu* pertaining to hair and hair-cutting at Queen Charlotte Sound. Thus he speaks of a youth named Taweiharooa (? Te Wai-harua) as follows: "He refrained from eating . . . on account of his hair being cut, though every method was tried to induce him to break his resolution. . . . He said if he eat anything that day the *atua* would kill him. . . . I had often conjectured, before this, that they had some superstitious notions about their hair, having frequently observed quantities of it tied to the branches of trees near some of their habitations; but what these notions are I never could learn."

In his series of lectures on Maori Customs and Superstitions the late Mr. John White gives an account of the cutting of a child's hair; but all the ceremonial acts explained would not be performed over every child, only those of the more important families.

Ceremonial hair-cutting was also observed in mourning for the dead. Thomson tells us that "some mourners clipped half their head-hair short"; and I have known a woman cut all her hair off when mourning for a dead relative. Another old practice was to cut off all the hair in mourning save one long lock, termed *reureu*, or *taweu*, left on one side of the head. These ceremonial cuttings of hair were probably observed throughout Polynesia. Widows are said to have cut all their hair short; in some cases it was singed off close to the head with a fire-brand. When a long lock was left, as a token of mourning for a child, it was so left on the right side of the head if the child was a boy, and on the left side if a girl. Sisters of the dead adopted the *koti poro* style, in which the hair was cut short but not close to the head. The singeing process was known as *uru tahutahu*. Such customs as these, however, often differed as among different tribes; thus it is not safe to assign to them a universal application. In some cases hair taken from the head of a dead person was burned, the manipulator reciting a charm in order to prevent the spirit of the dead returning among the living.

At Mangareva young priests were subjected to such a hair-cutting operation (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 27, pp. 122–123). In vol. 29 of the same *Journal*, at p. 104, is an account of the ceremonial cutting of the hair of boys on attaining the age of puberty. Ceremonial hair-cutting was a common practice in India.

We are told that the important operation of cutting the hair of a *tapu* person was performed early in the morning, and that all persons in the village were compelled to fast until the conclusion of the ceremony, nor could any food be cooked until it was over.

Mr. White quotes an Arawa tradition in which it is said that their ancestors came from Rarotonga, Waeroti, Waerota, Parima, and Manono, of which places Rarotonga was the most *tapu*, because it was the residence of the gods. At that place, when a person's hair was cut the severed hair was all carefully preserved.

We are told that, in former times, only the eldest male of a high-class family might cut the hair of a priest of high rank, and *vice versa*. This was on account of the intense *tapu* of the two persons. In some cases a highly *tapu* person allowed his hair to grow freely, declining to have it touched, and never washing his head, hence its condition may be imagined. The act of hair-cutting was called *waru mahunga*, *kotikoti uru*, and *whakaiho*. The expression *pure mahunga*, now sometimes used with that meaning, is not correct so used, but refers to a religious rite termed *pure*, of which the ceremonial cutting of the hair often formed a feature. At p. 420 of Sir George Grey's *Poetry of the New-Zealanders* may be seen a long ritual formula that was intoned by a priest when ceremonial hair-cutting was performed during the *pure* rite. Hair-cutting might be done at such a *tapu* spot as the *wai whakaika*, or *wai kotikoti*, already mentioned, or at a *tuahu kotikotinga uru* (hair-cutting *tapu* place). A flint flake used for the operation is called a *rehu koti uru;* if not sharp enough, then the edge would be ground on sand-stone. Sharp-edged flakes of obsidian (*mata tuhua*) were, however, more commonly used for this purpose.

A man would sometimes use a finely plaited cord formed from the hair of a slain enemy wherewith to confine his own top-knot of hair; it was termed a *kota*.

In his *Primitive Traditional History* Hewitt tells us that ceremonial hair-cutting in India was practised by the *soma* drinking peoples, who cut the hair close, with the exception of a top-lock.

A lock of hair from the head of a slain enemy was often secured and taken back to the village home by a victorious party of warriors. This was called the *mawe*, and it served as a medium for the priests in performing certain rites, one object of which was to nullify the endeavours of the defeated foe to avenge the defeat.

In connection with the arts of black magic, hair was also much used as a medium. When a wizard obtained a lock of hair from the head of a person whom he wished to destroy, he employed it as a destructive agent between his active spells and the passive victim. A modern story, related by "W. B." in his interesting work *Where the White Man treads*, relates how a native plucked a hair from his own head and dropped it into a glass of beer which his enemy was about to drink. The act was accompanied by what we would probably term a curse—which in itself, like *karakia*, is viewed by the Maori as the active medium or agent by means of which spells or charms are rendered effective.

This use of one's own hair in rites was very common in former times, occurrring in acts performed for self-protection in some way. Thus it entered into a brief rite that was performed in order to subdue or placate *taniwha* (mythical monsters), beings that are apt to destroy persons who venture near their places of abode. A native named Te Waiwai, of the Waikare-moana district, once told me of one adventure he met with on the lake of that name. "I was in my canoe at Tawhiti-nui, fishing for *maehe*, when I heard a strange sound, and two great waves came rolling in from the lake. Also I heard two loud reports like unto that of the cannon of the white man. Then I knew that the *taniwha* was angry. O friend! Quickly I plucked from my head a hair, and cast it into the water, reciting at the same time a charm whereby to render the demon harmless, and to calm the rolling water." This act of subduing such creatures is termed a *whakaeo*.

Another story concerning this same act, in connection with the water-dwelling monster Horo-matangi, in Lake Taupo, is given in vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 43. In his *History of the Taranaki Coast* Mr. S. Percy Smith relates a similar story told him by a native. He was, with others, fishing at sea, when a number of *taniwha* surrounded the canoe (on account of an act of desecration, of breaking the laws of *tapu*). The chief man on board bade the others keep quiet, and then plucked some hairs from his head, his armpits, and the lower part of his abdomen, and threw them nto the sea, repeating a charm as he did so. The sea-monsters then disappeared.

In one account of the coming of the vessel "Tainui" from Polynesia we are told that as it approached the shore it was surrounded by sea-monsters, that were dispersed or appeased by a priest who repeated charms and cast a lock of his hair into the water. Evidence also seems to show that this hair offering was also made when the help of sea-denizens, whales, &c., was required, in order to rescue a canoe in distress at sea.

We also note that human hair was used, at least in some cases, when performing the *rotu* rite in order to calm the ocean waves during a storm. Pakauwera, of Ngati-Kuia, explained this act to Mr. S. Percy Smith, in which relation the hair of a woman was mentioned as the offering. It was not customary, however, for women to go out in sea-going fishing-canoes. Pakauwera stated that the chief man in a canoe so overtaken by a storm would say to his wife (who would probably be busy bailing water out of the vessel), "*Whakaarahia te huruhuru*," whereon she would pull out a hair from her private parts and hold it out at arm's length, while the husband recited his *rotu* charm. In this account it is not actually stated that the hair was cast into the water, but it probably was.

In a certain rite performed by travellers about to take a journey, a fire was kindled and the traveller threw into it a hair from his head. The inevitable charm was, of

course, repeated at the time. All this was precautionary, as against the dangers of the road. The same act was performed when a person encountered a lizard in the path and burned it in the *ahi whakaene*, already explained.

Once upon a time the famous ancestor Tutamure was traversing the wild high-lying district known as Te Wera, inland of the Bay of Plenty. Presumably he became athirst, for he is said to have pulled a hair from his leg and cast it on the ground, at the same time repeating some charm or spell, whereupon a spring of water broke forth at the spot. I have been informed by natives that the spring still flows—a clear proof of the truth of the story—and that in it abides an eel having eight tails.

Mr. John White states that when a new fishing-net was used for the first time one of the catch was taken out by an expert, who plucked a hair from his own head, placed it in the fish's mouth, recited a charm over the fish, and then returned it to its native element. Apparently this was done with a view to securing good catches of fish in the future. A reliable native authority has informed me that the human hair so employed in rites imparts *mana* (power, efficiency) to them—that is, to the charm or invocation recited (*Ka unuhia te taio makawe kia mana ai te karakia*). Tuta Nihoniho, of Ngati-Porou, informed me that hair taken from the head to be used in rites is termed *awe*, and that it is plucked from the region of the *rua kai* (fontanelles).

It sometimes occurred that a special religious ceremony was performed over a man of parts whom it was necessary to endow with *mana*, that he might act as an efficient and respected controller of tribal affairs. This ceremony was known as *hou*, and its effect was to endow the person with both *mana* and *tapu*. The important ritual formula known as *Hangaroa* was repeated over him, and during the performance the officiating priest placed a sprig of *karamu* (*Coprosma*) and a hair from his own head on the head of the subject. (*Ka houa te tangata ki te hou no Tu; ka whakanohoia a Hangaroa karakia ki runga ki a ia: na, hai mana taua tangata.*)

In the quaint old story of Hape the Wanderer, as given in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 8, p. 49, we see that Tamarau took a portion of his father's hair as the *aria* of his *wairua* (spirit or soul). This word *aria* is applied to the material representation of something immaterial—to the form of incarnation of a deity, &c.

A wizard has been known to bewitch a man by obtaining some of his hair, placing it in a diminutive vessel fashioned from a leaf of the *raupo* bulrush, and so launching it on the waters of a stream, repeating his magic charms as he did so. The object of such launching has not been explained. Polack saw hair tied to a tree near or in the midst of a *tapu* crop, and also hanging on trees standing in a burial-ground. This writer sojourned in New Zealand during the "thirties" of the nineteenth century. Posts erected as *rahui*, or boundary-marks, sometimes had human hair attached to them, to endow them with *mana*. A carved figure obtained by the Auckland Museum from the east coast was observed to have a plugged hole in it. The removal of the plug led to the discovery of a lock of hair and the umbilical cord of a child in the bottom of the bored hole. In olden days a lock of hair sometimes served as the *aria* of an *atua*. Human hair and *iho tamariki* (severed umbilical cords of infants) were sometimes deposited at some spot on the tribal boundaries, or at the place where the baptismal rite (*tohi*) had been performed over a child.

On the east coast of the North Island a peculiar procedure was followed when a man, or party of men, visited other clans in order to seek assistance in some war raid. The messenger or envoy would cut the hair off one half of his head and daub red ochre over it; on the other half the hair was left long. All who saw him would at once know the object of his visit; there was no need for any questioning.

In the Tuhoe district, when youths entered the *tapu* school of learning called the *whare takiura*, their hair was first cut at the *wai tapu* (sacred water) of the village by a priest, while another priest, standing in the water, recited a *karakia* (invocation, charm) known

as *Tiki*, one of a class termed *Kawa ora*. They were also subjected to the peculiar usage or ceremony known as *moremore puwha* (*Ka whangaia nga tamariki ki te karakia, ka moremore puwhatia*). Among the Takitumu folk hair from the priest's head was used apparently as a kind of offering, or to impart *mana* when a new *tapu* school was erected. When a season's teaching concluded, some hair and saliva of each pupil was buried by the priestly teacher with certain ceremonies to prevent the pupils being affected by magic arts in the future.

In his paper on "Maori Religion" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 14, p. 121) Co'onel Gudgeon tells us that human hair was sometimes employed as a *tiri*. Thus, when a priest was attending a sick person and wished to exorcise the evil spirit assailing him, he would take a hair from his own head, one from the patient's head, join them together, and insert them in the patient's mouth. When the demon was banished it would leave the sufferer's body by way of this *tiri*, as it was called.

Human hair was employed in the rite known as *hirihiri*, in connection with *maunga hirihiri*—sacred hills appealed to formerly when invoking the aid of ancestral spirits. Thus, in a native account of a war expedition we are told that the clans assembled, thereupon the chief of each division cut a lock of hair from the summit of his head, took it in his right hand, and, facing in the direction of the *tapu* mountain, he recited his invocation and threw the hair in the direction of the mountain. This rite was a calling upon the spirits of defunct elders and ancestors to assist their living descendants in battle, and to endow them with courage. Those ancestors had been buried in those ranges, or, rather, their bones had been deposited there in caves or chasms.

The Use of Human Saliva in Ritual.

We have now to deal with a still more curious usage in connection with Maori ceremonial performances, albeit one that is not wholly unknown to ourselves. We still hear of persons spitting upon a thing for luck, and know that the same act is, or was, employed to accompany a malediction or curse. Inasmuch as it was used in two ways, it would appear that, originally, the act was believed to impart *mana*, or effectiveness, power, to speech or action; and this is apparently the idea that the Maori had in his mind. We read that the Archbishop of Abyssinia spits upon his congregation as a blessing, so that the episcopal virtue seems to lie in his saliva.

It is well known to us that human saliva was viewed by the Maori as a very effective medium in the practice of the arts of black magic. To obtain a portion of a person's saliva means that his life is in the hands of him who so obtains it. Over such a medium, or *ohonga*, as it is termed, the magic rite is performed that carries death to the original, the person whose saliva was procured. But Tarakawa has told us that *huare* (saliva) was also employed in saving a person from the effects of magic arts. Thus, when a person was taken ill, and it was assumed that his illness was caused by some wizard, a portion of the patient's saliva was carried by a priest to the *tuahu* on a leaf. The expert then performed a rite that caused the spirit of the wizard to appear. With a branchlet of *karamu* in his hand the expert drove the fly that represented the wizard's spirit into the *rua torino*, a small pit formed in the earth, where it was destroyed by means of a further ceremony. The physical basis of the spirit, the body of the wizard, would then assuredly perish.

Nicholas relates a curious incident that occurred in 1815, when he purchased a comb worn by a native. Prior to delivering the comb, that had become *tapu* by being in contact with his head, he performed over it and its purchaser a very curious ceremony. At one stage of the proceedings he applied his spittle to his fingers and crossed the palm of the purchaser's right hand with them.

Mr. White describes a rite performed by an expert in order to ascertain who had bewitched a person. The afflicted one was conducted by the expert to a stream, where, after certain preliminaries, he was told to expectorate into the water. When he had done so the expert caught the saliva in his right hand, and clapped that hand on his right cheek, whereupon he saw the spirit of the wizard on his left side. Another rite was then performed in order to slay the wizard. Should the sufferer afterwards relent and wish to save the life of the culprit, the expert was again called in. In the performance of this third rite one of his acts was to spit on the applicant's forehead. All these arts of sorcery were, of course, accompanied by charms. This same writer tells us that when a priest had performed the divinatory *niu* rite, and proceeded to lift the *tapu*, he would spit upon the mat he had used in the proceedings as a part of the latter ceremony.

Another method of warding off the shafts of magic, as explained by Tutakangahau, of Tuhoe, has a phallic aspect. Thus, a man may believe that a companion is endeavouring to *raweke* (meddle with) him. He would therefore go aside and appeal to the *tangata matua* (*ure*), which organ he would clasp in his hand and *titoi* (retract the prepuce). He would then spit in his hand, return to the company he had left, and make a motion with that hand as though throwing something at the suspected person. That performance bears a double aspect: it not only preserves him from any possible harm, but also possesses the extra advantage of causing his enemy's arts to recoil upon himself and destroy him.

In an east coast variation of the *atahu* rite, performed in order to cause a straying wife to return to her husband, the husband applicant was told by the priestly expert to spit into a shell, which shell was manipulated by the expert in a very extraordinary manner.

A simple ceremony known as *tuaimu* was performed by a man about to engage in a fight. He would spit on his weapon and repeat a charm that was believed to have the desirable effect of weakening any enemy he might encounter in the coming fray. A form of *tuaimu* was also practised by wrestlers. Tree-fellers were wont to expectorate into the *imu*, or kerf, in order to prevent their arms becoming weary. A person who encountered a lizard on the path would kill it, spit on it, cut it in pieces, and burn it so as to avert the evil omen. In the myth of Maui we note that he spat upon his *teka* (dart) ere he cast it.

We have noted above that a man would spit upon his weapon as he recited the *hoa rakau* charm over it. Now, should that man chance to strike down a person whom he did not wish to slay, possibly a distant relative, he would expectorate on his fingers and rub them on the face and body of the stricken one, repeating the following formula in order to bring him back to life: "*Hoki mai ki te ao nei—mahihi ora ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama; korou ora.*" A native who had explained to me this rite added, "Both the man and his saliva were *tapu* at the time." The man being in a *tapu* condition at the time, his saliva would possess the *mana* necessary to make the rite effective.

Dr. Shortland, in his *Maori Religion and Mythology*, details the procedure in the *tua* rite performed over an infant. At one stage of the proceedings the woman who acted as a *ruahine* took the child in her arms, passed over it a small piece of cooked fern-root, with which she also touched various parts of its body. She then expectorated on the fern-root, and then deposited it at the *tuahu*.

Another peculiar act sometimes performed was the ejection of saliva instead of swallowing it, at times when danger was in the air. Thus, when an enemy was endeavouring to bewitch a person by means of a charm or spell of the *matakai* type it was highly dangerous for the threatened one to swallow either food or saliva, as the deadly spell would at the same time pass down his throat and do its evil work. Shortland gives an illustration of this precautionary act in the work quoted above, when Hine-te-kakara, in opening the *tapu* oven called *umu kohukohu*, was careful not to swallow saliva, lest the

tapu of the oven should affect her injuriously. In the ceremony that ensued, at a certain juncture Kahu took a portion of the food cooked in the *tapu* oven, expectorated on it, then breathed on it, and used it as an offering to the image of Tama-te-kapua. These ceremonial acts were connected with the removal of *tapu* from persons.

Hewitt tells us of a similar custom pertaining to marriage among a certain folk of India, wherein the bride's father acts as priest, and during the ceremony takes hold of the hands of the man and woman and spits on them. Ceremonial spitting also was practised in China, Arabia, Greece, Abyssinia, and elsewhere. Saliva was supposed to possess creative and curative qualities. It brought good luck, and was useful in expelling demons.

Sun-worship in New Zealand and Polynesia.

Persons who have made some study of the customs and beliefs of the Polynesian race have expressed surprise at the absence of evidence as to any practice of sun-worship in former times. Evidence of a direct nature is certainly exceedingly scanty—indeed, almost non-existent. There is one brief, unexplained passage in White's *Ancient History of the Maori* that may or may not refer to such a practice, and we have an item collected by the late Mr. Nelson. These are local references, and, apparently, the only ones on record. Evidence from Polynesia is also a small quantity; that given by Fornander being probably the most interesting.

It is when we come to closely study native myths that we understand how it is that so little direct evidence is met with as to sun-worship in Polynesia and New Zealand. We have statements concerning sun-worship in isles of the Society Groups, that Ra was the tutelary god of Porapora, and that something similar obtained at Ra'iatea. We have, however, never yet grasped the genius for personification possessed by the Polynesians—how natural phenomena and many other things were by them personified under different names than those of vernacular speech. Thus a close study of their myth and religion opens up a vast new field of exploration, and withal one of surpassing interest. By such close examination only can we acquire a true knowledge of native beliefs, and the mental conditions that produced them. We know now that the moon is personified in Hina, comets in Tunui-a-tē-ika, clouds in Hine-kapua, space in Watea, and the sun in Tane. In this last name lies the solution of the puzzle. We know that Tane was one of the most important of the Polynesian gods; that the cult of Tane was widespread, even from New Zealand to the far Hawaiian Isles. We can now see that the form of sun-worship adopted by Polynesians was that connected with Tane. This personification was very prominent in eastern Polynesia and New Zealand. Among our Maori folk Tane held a high place; indeed, he may be said to come next to Io, the Supreme Being: that is to say, he was the most important of the secondary or departmental gods. Tane was often appealed to in ritual formulae; either his aid was craved, or some ceremonial placatory form was directed to him. This latter aspect was prominent in ritual conducted by those who wished to fell a tree, for the forest is essentially the realm of Tane. He was, however, invoked in connection with a great many other subjects. Thus we see that in an invocation pertaining to the school of learning the concluding line is "To thee, O Io the Parent, O Ruatau, O Tane-te waiora!" Another of similar nature concludes with the words "that they may be endowed with thy godlike knowledge, O Tane!" Many other instances might be referred to in which Tane was appealed to, or conciliated in some way, while offerings were made to him in connection with many pursuits of the Maori.

Fornander, in his fine work on Hawaiian lore, gives many proofs that Tane represents the sun, and indeed he recognizes the identification of Tane with the sun. It therefore seems strange that he should state on the next page that solar worship had faded from the Polynesian mind since the race entered the Pacific area. He wrote as follows: "To whatever extent either solar or serpent worship may have formerly obtained among

the Polynesians in pre-Pacific habitats, it is tolerably certain that at the time and after their entrance into the Pacific it had faded from the national mind, and only remained in the form of some cherished customs, or some hateful, dreaded recollections. If the ideas of solar worship embodied in the Polynesian Kane, as the sun, the sun-god, the Shining One . . . were of Cushite origin, yet the name itself is of Arian kindred, and refers itself to some primary root expressed in the Sanscrit *kan* (to shine). . . . Though La and Ra are Polynesian terms designating the sun and the day, as well as in Egyptian and old Babylonian, yet there are few traces in Polynesian lore that he ever was associated with religious ideas, or deified, so to say, as he was both in Egypt and ancient Chaldea."

In reference to the derivation of Kane from the Sanscrit *kan*, to shine, it is well to remember that Kane, as a variant form of Tane, is very modern, the change from *t* to *k* in the Hawaiian dialect having taken place early in the nineteenth century.

Fornander knew that Tane was a very important deity in Polynesia, and should have readily seen that the natives of that region, instead of worshipping the sun in a direct manner, preferred the indirect method of treating its personified form as a powerful deity. The sun was undoubtedly deified in Tane, and a great many religious ceremonies pertained to the cult of Tane.

Another of Fornander's statements is as follows: "I have found no trace in Polynesian folk-lore that the moon was ever regarded as an object of adoration, nor, though the planetary stars were well known and named, that these latter ever received religious consideration." Now, both these statements are misleading. Hina, or Sina, is the female personification of the moon, the tutelary goddess of women, and was frequently invoked in ritual performances. Again, Lono, or Rongo, is the male personification of the moon, though Fornander did not recognize this fact, and yet he gives the proof of it in his data. Rongo occupied the highest position in the Hawaiian pantheon, equalling Tane; and so we see how Hawaiians and Polynesians generally practised sun and moon worship through the medium of personifications. With regard to astrolatry, this was certainly practised, of which proof is given elsewhere in this paper. Believing as he did that the stars influenced to a very marked extent both food-supplies and weather conditions, it was scarcely possible that the Maori could escape some form of star-worship—it might be termed a natural sequence.

The brief reference to sun-worship said to be found in vol. 2 of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* is a somewhat doubtful item. A woman is asked as to what the people of a hamlet are doing, and replies "*Kei te tui i te ra*," followed by the explanation "*Hei puri i te whenua, i nga tangata.*" I must confess that I can detect no evidence as to sun-worship here, when one disregards the very peculiar rendering of the word *tui* given by Mr. White, and really no other course is open.

The late Mr. Charles Nelson collected some data concerning what appears to have been a more direct form of sun-worship than that of the cult of Tane. Unfortunately the collector did not publish his notes, though Mr. Tregear published some of them in his work *The Maori Race*. At p. 467 of that work is given an account of an ancient form of *hakari*, or ritual feast, held, we are told, as a sun festival. The diagram and descriptive matter are interesting, and we can but regret that Mr. Nelson did not publish his notes in their entirety, giving the source thereof. Mr. Tregear's description tells us that, at the annual *hakari*, long piles of food products were stacked up in the form of a heptagon, a fire being kindled at each of the seven interior angles, and a pole bearing a pennant at each exterior angle. In the middle of the enclosed space was a larger fire, called the *here*, that represented the sun, and around it, in the form of a cross, stood four larger poles bearing pennants. A human sacrifice, called the *whakahere*, was burned in this central fire. The pennant-bearing poles erected were called *wana* and *toko*. *Williams's Maori Dictionary* gives "*Wana* = (1) division of a heap of food at a *hakari*;

(2) ray of the sun. *Toko* = (1) pole; (2) ray of light, &c." The piles of food were termed *tahua*, and the officiating priests *tahu* or *tahuna*. In this brief account we have a most interesting glimpse of an extremely ancient cultus, and the heptagonal form of the *tahua* carries the mind back to far lands. A number of native myths appear to possess some astronomical signification, but it is now too late to seek explanation thereof from natives.

It is possible that Maui represents the sun—certainly he represents light in some form; but, inasmuch as he was not viewed as what we term a god, and as no invocations, offerings, &c., were connected with him, we need not concern ourselves about him with regard to sun-worship. In the case of Tu a different aspect is observed. If, as I suspect, Tu represented the setting sun, then it may be said that he occupied an important position in connection with native ritual, for he was the great patron of war and of all fighting-men.

We can thus put it that the Maori gave the personified form of the sun (Tane) a prominent place in his pantheon, as he appears to have viewed him as the most important of the secondary or departmental gods. As to direct worship of the sun, or functions connected with such a phase, we have but the one item of evidence, though Mr. Nelson was a competent collector possessing a good knowledge of the Maori tongue.

The Use of Water in Ritual Functions.

It may be said that water entered largely into Maori ritual performances; both aspersion and immersion being practised. Near every village some stream or pond was utilized as a *tapu* place at which ceremonies of what we may term a religious nature were performed. Such a place was termed the *wai tapu*, *wai whakaika*, *wai kotikoti*, and sometimes, apparently, *wai whakaiho*. The last two terms seem to be connected with hair-cutting, a performance that, in the case of *tapu* persons, was in reality a religious ceremony. At this stream many rites were performed. In many cases those who took part in such a performance stood in the water, in some cases waist-deep. In performing certain ritual the *tohunga*, or priests, cast off their garments, and, clad in nothing more than a bunch of leaves, entered the water and took their stand at a place where the water surrounded them. The idea prompting this act was the desire for what may be termed spiritual insulation; all contaminating influences were avoided by this means. Such rites were also carried out early in the morning, before the participators, or any of the village community, had partaken of food. The importance of an empty stomach in the religious ceremonies of barbaric peoples survives in Christianity, more especially in the Roman Catholic Church.

The Maori folk would never have consented to our form of baptizing infants, simply because the water employed in the rite was contained in a vessel fashioned by human hands. This would affect its efficacy or potency; hence our Maori always turned to the *wai matua o Tuapapa*, as he termed it—virgin water as it flows from the earth—when utilizing water in his religious ceremonies. This was the only water free from polluting tendencies. When the Maori first saw the Christian form of christening, the sprinkling of water contained in a vessel made by human hands, his verdict was "*Kaore i hangai*"—meaning that it did not comply with the demands of ancient custom and propriety. Pure water is that produced by Para-whenuamea (personified form and origin of water); it must be used in its natural font. Thus the baptism of infants was performed at a *wai tapu*. In old-time Babylonia water was considered as the primal element from which life came; and in the superior cosmogonic myths of the Maori we note that, ere the earth was formed, all was water, and that Io, the Supreme Being, abode in space. In native teachings it was said that the welfare of all things depends upon water; without it nothing can flourish. When Tane ascended to the heavens in order to obtain the three baskets of knowledge, he was compelled to twice undergo the *tohi* ceremony in *tapu* water ere he could be admitted to the divine presence.

In the baptismal rite performed over an infant some differences existed as to details: in some cases a sprinkling process was employed, or the hand of the operator was dipped in water and drawn across the child's face. Another method employed was to immerse the child's body in water. Among the Kahungunu Tribe of the eastern side of the North Island an impressive ceremony marked the baptism of a child of rank. The persons who took part in or attended the function marched in procession to the *wai tapu*, a recognized order being preserved with regard to precedence. At the waterside the parents of the child took their stand, the mother holding the infant in her arms. Their relatives were grouped behind them. The principal *tohunga*, or priest, entered the water and took his stand where the water reached to his waist, or somewhat deeper. The assistant priest took the infant from the mother and handed it to the chief priest as he stood in the water. The latter intoned a certain *karakia* as he sprinkled the child with water, and then another as he dipped his hand in the water and then drew it across the child's face. The final performance of the baptism was the immersion of the body of the child in the water. Details of such rites differed as in different districts. This baptismal rite was known as *tohi* and *tua*. Among the Tuhoe folk a branchlet of the *karamu* shrub was employed wherewith to sprinkle water on the infant. The baptism of a child abolishes or renders innocuous all harmful influences, and also brings it under the influence of the gods. In the highest form of the rite the child was dedicated to, and placed under the protection of, the Supreme Being.

Immersion was practised in the absolutory rite performed over persons about to be subjected to some *tapu* ceremony, as in cases of illness, or when a person was freed from a condition of *tapu*. Thus it pertained to a cleansing ceremony conducted over those who had handled bodies of the dead, or the bones of forbears at a *hahunga*, or exhumation. Aspersion was practised in some functions, such as ceremonial divorce, the dedication of fighting-men prior to a raid, &c. Immersion entered into the ritual pertaining to the *tapu* school of learning, and a priest who was about to intone invocations to the Supreme Being immersed himself in some if not all cases. At the Island of Mangaia, in the Cook Group, a baptismal rite was performed over children in pre-European times, in which they were sprinkled with water by means of a branch, as often occurred in New Zealand.

In some cases, or districts, when a priestly expert performed the *wai taua* rite over fighting-men he procured two strips of *Phormium* leaf, knotted them together, and took the knotted strips with him when he entered the waters of the stream where the rite was to be performed. Here he so arranged it that the knot was up-stream and the two ends trailed down-stream, and he stood in the bight, so that he was between the two. Now comes the interesting part of the account, as given by an old native: "*Ka kiia he kuwha tangata taua harakeke*" ("That strip of flax represented the thighs of a person"). This was symbolical: the performer was supposed to be standing between the legs of a person, and thus in close proximity to the organ that was believed to possess important powers of protection over the life-principle of man. Here we seem to have a survival of something very much like a system of phallic worship. While standing in this position the *tohunga* intoned certain ritual that is said to have enabled him to see before him the *wairua* (soul, or astral body) of those warriors who were doomed to fall in the coming fray. Such apparitions would be seen hovering over their physical bases, the material bodies of the doomed men.

In divinatory rites performed in order to ascertain the author of some noxious act of black magic the *tira karamu* (wand or branchlet of *Coprosma*) was employed in sprinkling with water the person who had been bewitched, as it was also used in sprinkling the naked bodies of fighting-men in the *wai taua* rite. This sprinkling process also entered into the performance of the *atahu* rite, or what we would call "love charms." When a mourner, such as a widow, left the *whare potae*, or house of mourning—that is to say, when her period of mourning was over—she was sprinkled with water during the

ceremony performed in order to relieve her of the condition of *tapu*. Persons suffering any form of sickness were often taken to the *wai tapu* after sunset, where a divinatory or diagnostic ceremony was performed over them. Or it might be the *whakahoro* rite, in which the sufferer was immersed in the waters. This was a lustral act, a cleansing or purifying process that abolished all evil influences, the effects of wrong acts committed. As the Maori puts it, it was *hei muru i ona hara, hei whakamarama i tona ngakau* (to condone or abolish his faults, to enlighten his mind). The sufferer was told by the priest that he must "unfasten" all his faults and peccadilloes. This called for confession; after which certain ritual was recited over him, he was told to immerse his body in the stream, and what may be termed "absolution" followed. He was then in a condition fit for further ceremonial, and also for consideration of his case by the gods. Man is himself a descendant of the gods, and when he places himself in the hands of the gods he must approach them in a fit and proper condition.

In a ceremony performed over scholars who had passed through the *tapu* school of learning the officiating priest took his stand in the water, facing the east, while the scholar stood at his left side. As the priest recited certain ritual over the scholar he kept his left hand on the young man's head and extended his right hand toward the rising sun. When performing the opening ceremony pertaining to the final session of the ancient school of learning in the Wai-rarapa district, the officiating expert filled his mouth with water, ejected it into his left hand, and then sprinkled it over the house.

When forming the road from old Fort Galatea to Ruatahuna in the "nineties" we came to a place called Wahine-kai-awatea, a peculiar name that might be rendered as "daylight eating woman," or woman who eats in the daytime. On inquiry we found that, generations ago, the widow of one Wharau, who had been in the "house of mourning" for her husband, had undergone in a stream at this place the rite that freed her from a condition of *tapu*, concluded her period of mourning, and enabled her once more to partake of food during the day. While the period of mourning continued she could eat only at night.

Although, as we have seen, water was employed as a pure and purifying element, yet it is possible for it to have a polluting effect, such properties being imparted to it by some foreign object. Water contained in any vessel fashioned by human hands loses much of its virtue in Maori belief. Again, the washing of one's face in water heated in a vessel has a markedly polluting effect. When the introduction of Christianity had such a marked (albeit often transient) effect on the native mind, some enthusiastic converts polluted and abolished their own protective *tapu*, and antagonized their gods, by laving their heads with water heated in cooking-vessels.

Ceremonial Releasing of Birds.

A very singular act that entered into some ceremonial performances was the releasing of a bird that had been captured for the purpose. We have gained no explanation of this peculiar act, but it must have possessed some symbolical significance. Among the Takitumu folk the birds employed in this and other cermonial were the *miromiro* (*Petroeca toitoi*) and the *tatahore*, or whitehead (*Certhiparus albicapillus*). In some districts the *mata*, or fern-bird (*Spenaeacus punctatus*) seems to have been often employed in ritual performances, more especially perhaps in connection with war. We are told that birds were employed in rites performed at the *tuahu*, or *ahurewa*, and at *toma tupapaku* (caves, &c., where exhumed bones of the dead were deposited). When a new *pa* (fortified place) of importance was opened by means of a religious function, at one juncture of the proceedings two priestly experts took stand at two corners of the defences, each holding a captive bird in his hand. They then intoned the following formula: "*Tenei to aro he toi tu, he toi matua, he toi taketake. . . .*" Here the name of the new *pa* was pronounced, and the twain proceeded: "*Ko to aro, ko taku aro; ko to toi matua, ko toku toi matua;*

ko to toi taketake he tipua ki roto ki tenei pa. Tihe mauri ora!" Here the two birds were released and allowed to fly away. It is said that the meaning of this act was a symbolic communication to the gods that the supplicants craved for the new village such prosperity and welfare as was represented in the escape and freedom of the two birds.

The late Colonel Gudgeon has informed us that during the performance of the *tohi* rite over a male infant of high rank a bell-bird (*komako; Anthornis melanura*) was released. These customs were probably not universally practised throughout New Zealand, but they assuredly existed. In ancient Babylonia a raven was sometimes released by a magician during the performance of a rite to exorcise demons, as a hint to such demons to depart in a similar manner. In Morgan's work on the Iroquois he tells us that in the funeral rite of that people a bird was set free on the eve of the burial in order to carry away the soul of the dead. Max Muller, in his *Anthropological Religion*, explains yet another illustration of this quaint custom. When a certain ceremony is being performed in India in connection with an image of Kali, or Durga, that image is allowed to sink in the waters of the sacred river just as the sun is setting. At the same time a bird, the beautiful Indian jay, is released from a cage to fly away to Siva to tell him that his beloved Kali (Durga) is coming back to him.

The reliance of the barbaric mind on mediums and symbols is a very marked characteristic, of which many examples have been given in the foregoing pages. Some of the examples of this practice known to us are extraordinary, and serve to illustrate the peculiar workings of the native mind. Thus, when, about the year 1820, a virulent epidemic introduced by the ship "Coromandel" swept down the Taranaki coast, a local *tohunga* adopted a singular course of action to stay its ravages. As a kind of medium he formed a representation of a European ship, and over this object he recited charms or invocations to the gods that were supposed to allay the epidemic. This may seem to us a very absurd procedure, but when a severe earthquake was experienced in Wellington in the "forties" a solemn fast was proclaimed. Presumably a few thousand empty stomachs were sufficient to prevent further shocks.

Genealogic Recitals entered into Ritual.

It is well known that genealogical lines of descent, or portions thereof, were sometimes inserted in *karakia* (charms, invocations, &c.), to which they were supposed to impart power, effectiveness. The inclusion of the names of ancestors of repute and high standing, men possessed of *mana* when in this world, would appeal to the Maori mind. Those ancestors still possess power to protect and harm their living descendants, and to have their influence exerted on one's behalf would be a distinct advantage. But the Maori went still further back in order to obtain support in his appeals; he inserted in them the names of mythical agencies, conditions or beings of his cosmogonic genealogies, pertaining to the period prior to the existence of the sky and earth. The fact that the Maori explained the development of the universe in a manner genealogical—that one condition begat another, as it were—was probably the cause of his including such mythical forces in his line of human descent. His belief that man was descended from primeval forces bearing certain names, through the supernatural offspring of Rangi and Papa, would endow him with faith in the power and efficacy of such names when included in his ritual formulae. Thus it was that the earlier and mythical section of genealogies was inserted in such effusions. We know that the first-born male of a high-rank family, an *ariki* and *ihorei*, was looked upon as a very superior being. His condition of *tapu*, his descent from supernatural beings, together with the well-known respect of the Maori for primogeniture, all tended to such a man being viewed as being partially divine when in the flesh. Little wonder, therefore, that, if not actually deified after death, his name was still held to possess certain powers, or he retained the ability to succour or help his living relatives.

Ceremonial Dancing.

In old-time Maori life there were practised a number of what may be termed ceremonial dances, as connected with war, mourning for the dead, reception of visitors, greeting the new moon, and at the reappearance of certain stars, such as the Pleiades, &c. These were accompanied by some form of song. Rhythmical movement appeals very much to the Maori, hence it enters largely into many of his activities in connection with industries and functions. This is well shown in the old custom of *heriheri kai*, or *makamaka kai*, the ceremonial bearing of food to a party of guests. The food-carriers, often a numerous party, each provided with an open bowl-shaped basket containing cooked food, marched in procession two deep from the cooking-place. As they advanced slowly across the plaza toward the guests they executed a slow-time form of posture dance, accompanying it with a very euphonious and rhythmical chant. Such exhibitions are of a very interesting nature. Another ceremonial dance of a pleasing nature was the one performed by east coast natives during peace-making functions.

Traces of Phallic Worship.

We encounter in Maori customs, beliefs, and usages some evidence that points to a former system of phallic worship, or something much resembling it. These survivals consist of a belief in innate powers possessed by the organs of generation, the reliance placed on such organs in ceremonial functions, phallic symbols, a remembrance of the phallic eel, and some other curious and interesting matters.

In dealing with the offspring of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother we found that Tane represents the male element and procreative power. In Tiki we have a straight-out personification of the *membrum virile*. In the grotesque pendant termed a *tiki* we have a fructifying symbol bearing the sacerdotal name for the male organ, and of its personified form. This singular pendant represents the human foetus, and was worn by women on account of its supposed powers in causing conception. One old example of this symbolic object seen in the South Island possessed an organ of most disproportionate size, one of the hands of the image being clasped round it. Carved wooden images endowed with this latter peculiarity were very common in New Zealand and Indonesia. Survivals of the very ancient phallic cult are found in many different lands.

One of the most interesting of these survivals, as found among the Maori folk, is the remembrance of the singular cult of the eel, as practised in India. In ancient Asiatic myth the eel is connected with reproduction, and the symbol of Ira, the eel-god of India, is a linga with a lunar crescent on its head. This illustrates another very old belief of the Asiatic region, that the moon is closely connected with fertility, not only as regards man but also in the vegetable world. Ira, the Indian eel-god, was also known as Indra; his son was the snake-god; while, in Persia, Indra was the serpent. The phallic eel and phallic serpent were closely allied in southern Asia. The old Babylonian myth of Eve and the phallic serpent reappears in Polynesia and New Zealand. In Maori myth the eel takes the place of the phallic serpent as appears in the myth of Hina, Tuna, and Maui. Hina is spoken of as the wife of Maui. She is apparently the same as Hina-te-iwaiwa, the personified form of the moon; while Maui certainly represents light—probably the sun. Tuna interfered with Hina and excited her by tickling her with his tail, hence the tail of an eel is called *tara-puremu* and *hiku-rekareka*. This is a variant form of the myth of the first man, whose wife was a woman evolved from the reflection of the man in a pool of water (*mimi* in the original). This woman was excited by the eel in a similar manner, and so the first sin was committed. At the Island of Mangaia Tuna appears as the lover of Hina. At Fiji the eel is the form of incarnation of one of the gods. F. W. Christian, in *The Caroline Islands*, tells us of a deified conger-eel at a place in the Caroline Group, and also that "The Mortlock Islanders call the eel Tiki-tol,

and use it for the equivalent of the Serpent in the Garden of Eden." Now, this is just the Maori myth; and, moreover, we have noted the local application of the term *tiki:* thus Tiki-tol closely resembles Tiki-toro, or Tiki-torohanga, one of the significant names of the personification previously mentioned.

In India Siva was not only the Destroyer but also a god of fertility, as shown by the moon crescent on his forehead and serpent girdle. He is still adored in the form of a great boulder painted red, which usually stands below a tree. "Offerings are made to this stone, and women visit it during the period of the moon's increase to pray for offspring"—so writes Mackenzie in his *Indian Myth and Legend.* These remarks recall the stones of Tane of the Hawaiian Isles, and of Tahiti. In vol. 1 of Fornander's *Polynesian Race* may be found a curious passage concerning certain sacred stones of the Hawaiian Isles. The author remarks: "What the Hawaiians called Pohaku-a-Kane [stones of Tane], upright stones of from one to six and eight feet in height, the smaller size portable and the larger fixed in the ground, and which formerly served as altars or places of offering at what may be called family worship, probably referred to the Lingam symbolism of the Siva cult in India, where similar stone pillars, considered as sacred, still abound. . . . In the Hawaiian group these stone pillars were sprinkled with water or anointed with coconut-oil, and the upper part frequently covered with a black *tapa* or cloth, the colour of garments which priests wore on special occasions, and which was also the cloth in which the dead were wrapped. Singularly enough, the Greeks called Priapus the 'black-cloaked,' and the Phallus was covered with a black cloth, signifying the nutritive power of night."

Far away from Hawaii, at Fiji, we find similar phallic stones, of which illustrations are given in *Fiji and the Fijians,* by Williams (vol. 1, p. 220, edition of 1858). These stones are very suggestive in form, and one is shown with a garment tied round it. Offerings of food were made to these objects.

We find the story of Hina and the eel at Mangaia, in the Cook Group, where Tuna is said to have assumed the form of a handsome youth in order to gain the love of fair Hina. Another Maori name for the personified form of the eel is Puhi, a word that also means "wind." This reminds us of the feathered serpent of Mexico that was held to represent the fertilizing east wind.

To return for a brief space to the subject of sacred stones such as those of Fiji and Hawaii already mentioned: The stone of Tane, who is essentially the Fertilizer of Maori myth, and the linga-shaped stones depicted in Williams's volume on Fiji, were quite possibly viewed as fertilizing agents, though we have no information as to native beliefs concerning them. We have in New Zealand, however, a *tapu* stone that was held to possess fertilizing-powers. This stone, or rock, is situated at Kawhia, and it is known by the name of Uenuku-tuwhatu. To this stone went women who were desirous of bearing children, though we have no details as to ceremonial matters connected with such visits.

Another interesting fertilizing agent formerly resorted to by native women of the district is a *hinau* tree (*Elaeocarpus dentatus*) on a forest-clad hill at Ohaua-te-rangi, far up the Whakatane River, in the Bay of Plenty district. This tree acquired its *mana,* or power to cause conception in women, in a peculiar manner. Local tradition tells us that about twenty generations ago a chief named Irakewa deposited on that tree the *iho* (umbilical cord) of an infant child, whose name was Kataka. That tree has therefore ever since been known as Te Iho-o-Kataka (The Iho of Kataka). Taneatua, the father of the child Kataka, in after-years happened to visit the above tree during his wanderings, and was about to pluck some of the berries, when, to his amazement, he heard a voice saying "*Kaua ahau e kainga, notemea ko te iho ahau o Kataka*" ("Suffer me not to be eaten, for I am the *iho* of Kataka"). Taneatua not only refrained from eating the fruit of that tree, but also deposited thereat the *iho* of another of his children. He thrust it into a crevice in the bark of the tree, repeating as he did

so the following words: "*Ka whakairihia ahau, ka whakato tamariki ahau*" ("I am suspended; I will cause children to be conceived"). So it was that this tree came to be viewed as a fructifying agent, and, down the changing generations, the *iho* of children were occasionally placed there, instead of depositing them at some place on the boundaries of tribal lands. The eastern side of the tree is called its male side, and the western its female side.

When a woman wished to take advantage of the virtues of this magic tree she proceeded to it with her husband and a *tohunga* (priestly expert). She was commanded to clasp the trunk of the tree in her arms, the east or west side according to the sex she desired the child to be. Meanwhile the priest was reciting the all-important charm that seems to have been necessary in order to render the ceremony effective. When I obtained these notes from the natives in 1895, several old persons were pointed out to me as having been born through the agency of the famous *hinau* tree. Among them were Tamarau Waiari and Te Ai-ra-te-hinau. The name of the latter person denotes his origin, that he owes his being to the Iho-o-Kataka. Another account of the above proceedings introduces ceremonial copulation, the husband obtaining a twig or piece of bark from the male (or female) side of the tree, and placing it under his wife's body. This would act as a medium between the two agents that produced the child, in native belief.

In Mrs. Philpot's work on *The Sacred Tree* we are told that in parts of Asia certain trees were regarded as the material representations of the mysterious feminine reproductive power; also that "The sacred cedar of Gilgit, on the north-west frontier of India, was held to have the power of causing women to bear children."

I have alluded to a case of ceremonial copulation; but this was not the only matter in connection with which such an act was performed. It was occasionally practised by the commander of an armed force prior to attacking an enemy, and in such cases it seems to have had a divinatory significance. Some interesting data concerning this practice has appeared in Dr. Frazer's *Psyche's Task*.

In the account of his first voyage Cook mentions having witnessed at Tahiti what was probably an instance of ceremonial copulation, the act being performed before a great number of the natives.

We have now another and very curious aspect to consider—namely, the inherent powers, protective and otherwise, possessed by the generative organs in Maori belief. This belief illustrates a very singular phase of native mentality, a phase that seems to be also in evidence among certain folk in India. The Maori believed that the male organ possesses remarkable protective qualities; that it imparts *mana* (power, force, efficacy) to charms repeated in order to render harmless the arts of black magic. It must be over twenty years ago that I received from an aged native friend, one Hamiora Pio, of Te Teko, a curious and entertaining epistle in which he urged me to rely on the phallus as a means of preserving life and welfare. He also wrote out and sent to me for my use a potent charm to be uttered whenever I have reason to believe that some person is endeavouring to slay or injure me by means of magic. He made a special point of explaining the correct course of action I must pursue. I was to be sure to clasp the organ in my hand while repeating the charm. This reminds me of an incident related to me by another old native long years ago. He had, in his youth, known his own mother to rely on a similar action in order to avert or escape an impending calamity. The following remarks were made to me by the old fellow who sent me the charm: "Friend! It seems to me that the *ora* [welfare, healthful condition] of the white man is due to the fact that they ever keep the *koutu mimi* in their houses, in their very sleeping-chamber. For that vessel represents the *tawhito*, and so it serves as a protection against *makutu* [black magic]." The term *tawhito* is an archaic mystical expression denoting the organs of generation. This word carries the

meaning of "primeval, source, origin, original, ancient" in the Polynesian language; in some cases it must be rendered as "beginning." Another very singular expression applied to the male organ is that of *tangata matua*.

The ceremony described above of warding off the shafts of black magic is known as *kai ure*, and the following is the shortest charm employed in it that I have met with:—

Kai ure!
Kuruki whakataha te mate
Tau e patu ai ko taku ure.

A peculiar custom practised in former times had the effect of curing a man of an attack of *hauhauaitu*, which may be described as a nervous condition caused apparently by some infringement of a law of *tapu*. The cure was effected by the sufferers crawling between the legs of the *ariki* of his clan—that is, the eldest-born of the most prominent family. In the rite termed *hirihiri taua*, performed prior to the entry of warriors into a fight, men would sometimes thus pass between the legs of a priest in order to ward off such distressing afflictions. In some cases a person so afflicted was cured by getting the first-born female of a family of rank to step over him as he lay on the ground. There seems to be a belief that the *mana* of the organ, its innate power, has a preservative and curative effect. C. O. Davis tells us that a man who had slain a person to serve as a human sacrifice would pass between the slain man's legs in order to avert the wrath of his (the dead person's) god. (Compare a quaint ceremony of British New Guinea as described in Frazer's work *Psyche's Task*, p. 126, 2nd edition, 1913.)

But the innate powers of the organs under discussion are also harmful to man, and such harmful influences usually seem to emanate from the female organ. In Maori myth and belief the female sex is assigned an inferior position generally, and is spoken of as being connected with evil, misfortune, and death. The female organ is associated with misfortune and death, and so the expression *whare o aitua* is applied to it. It is also, apparently, sometimes applied to the earth, because all things on earth, animal and vegetable life, are subject to death; and, moreover, the earth is personified as a female. The expression *whare o te ora*, applied to the heavens, denotes the abode of life, welfare; the offspring of the primal parents who remained in the heavens—Rehua, Ruatau, Tama-i-waho, and others, as also the *whanau marama*, or heavenly bodies—these never perish, but endure for ever.

An old native once said to me, "With regard to the *tawhito* of Hine-nui-te-po, that was the *atua* (supernatural power) that destroyed man." This was a reference to the death of Maui in his memorable conflict with the great Hine. This quaint belief in the innate destructive power of the female sex or organs has long been held by certain peoples of far India. The Sakta, a Hindu sect, worship the active female principle of one or other of the forms of the consort of Siva, of which Kali is one. In his *Peoples of India* J. D. Anderson remarks of this sect: "This cult arose in eastern Bengal or Assam about the fifth century A.D. . . . This sect is probably due to the recrudescence of very ancient aboriginal cults. It is associated with blood-offerings and libidinous rites." Kali personifies the female power of generation, and Sakti seems to be the destructive energy pertaining to the female sex. Max Muller, in his *Anthropological Religion*, states that Sakti represents all powers of Nature, all her physical and spiritual forces. The female element is usually represented as being passive, quiescent, receptive; but this Sakti seems to be or represent the active powers of Nature, or of Siva. It is puzzling to note that Siva the Destroyer represents the fructifying principle, the generating power of Nature. The same contradictory aspect is encountered in the Maori belief in the harmful and destructive powers of the female organ.

Another singular usage has now to be scanned, and this was one known to the Maori as *ngau paepae*. This word *paepae* has many applications, but in this case it denotes the horizontal beam of a latrine, on which persons sat, or rather squatted, with both feet on

the beam. The above phrase can be rendered as "beam-biting," which describes a very extraordinary act performed by persons at the latrine during certain ceremonial performances of yore. A latrine is known as a *paepae hamuti;* but another term, *turuma*, seems to be a kind of honorific term for it, if such a definition be permissible. Tutaka, an old native of much knowledge, remarked to me, "The *paepae* is the *tangata matua;* it is the *hauora* of man; it is the destroyer of man; it is the saviour of man." Here it was meant that that place acts as a parent to man—that is, as a protective power; it preserves the *hauora* — virility and welfare of man. It will be remembered that Tutaka applied the same expression to the male organ.

When a man was about to set forth on a journey, the local priest would conduct him to the latrine and there certain ritual matter was repeated over him, and he was told to bite the beam. Some say that a person merely went through the motion, pretended to bite it, as it were. Such a ceremony had the effect of rendering harmless any attempts to injure the traveller by means of witchcraft on the part of the people among whom he was about to travel. For ever the Maori lived in dread of the arts of the wizard. Persons suffering from illness, or from any troubles and disabilities caused by slighting the gods (the two conditions being closely allied in the Maori mind) also performed the *ngau paepae* rite. Its performance apparently appeased the ill feeling of the gods where an offence had been given, and in other cases it enlisted their services. A sick person would be conducted by the priest to the place at sunset, and as they stood in front of the beam he would say "*E ngau to waha ki te paepae*"—thus commanding the person to bite the beam. As he did so the priest recited a charm, of which the following is a specimen :—

Ka kai koe ki tua
Ka kai koe ki te paepae e takoto nei
Koia nga tapu, koia nga popoa
Koia nga whare, koia nga urunga
Koia nga tapu nei

He atua kahu koe
Haere i tua, haere i waho
Haere i te rangi nui e tu nei
Mahihi ora ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama
Korou ora.

This seems to have completed the proceedings.

Persons performing these peculiar ceremonies always stood in front of the bar or beam. In figurative language that beam was styled the barrier between life and death. The space behind it was called the *kouka;* should one be consigned thither by magic arts, then death claimed his own. Should the *wairua* (soul) of a person pass over to the *kouka*, then the realm of darkness alone was its destination, and its physical basis knew death.

This rite was also performed over persons who had trespassed on a sacred place, or committed some other offence against the gods. The following charm was recited by the priest on such occasions :—

Ngaua i te pae, ngaua i te wehi
Ngaua i te upoko o te atua
Ngaua i a Rangi e tu nei
Ngaua i a Papa e takoto nei

Whakapa koe ki te ruahine
Kia whakaorangia koe e tahito nuku
E tahito rangi, e tahito pamamao
Ki Tawhiti i Hawaiki.

Now, why should ceremonies that may be termed religious functions be performed at such a place? What is it that renders such a place a desirable *tuahu?* *Tapu* in the sense of "unclean" it might be, but there is some unexplained cause for the extraordinary use made by the Maori of a latrine. Inquiry has brought from natives several explanations, none of which do I place any reliance on. Some tell us that this beam-biting act was an ordeal to test the nerve or determination of the subject; but the Maori appears to have forgotten its real origin and meaning, as in certain other cases. He is liable to fall back on conjecture, in which he is ably assisted by Europeans. An account of the

rite given in vol. 27 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 84, does not throw any light on the origin of so strange a performance. In vol. 23 of the same *Journal*, at pp. 132 and 146, we see that the *ngau paepae* act was performed in connection with the teachings of the *whare maire*. At p. 206 of the latter volume is an account of the hauling of a vessel to the *turuma* or latrine of a village, where a rite was performed over it prior to its being launched for the long two-thousand-mile voyage to New Zealand. The vessel was made *tapu* by that ceremony, and placed under the care of the gods. The explanation given in a footnote as to the reason why the vessel was hauled to such a place is not convincing or satisfactory; the real meaning and origin of the act is unknown to us. Other ceremonial functions were performed at such places. In vol. 12 of the above *Journal*, at p. 203, is an account of a singular rite termed *umu hiki* being performed at a latrine.

The generative power and reproduction must ever have been deemed mysterious by primitive, savage, and barbaric man. As Westropp has shown in his work on survivals of phallic worship, to uncultured man nature is not simply lifeless matter. Thus he attributes to what we view as inanimate matter the powers of generation and reproduction, active and passive functions. Moreover, he attributed such powers to cosmic forces or conditions, as is noted in Maori and Polynesian cosmogonies. The functions of human nature were extended to physical nature, hence the vivification of natural phenomena so prominent in Maori lore. These concepts of the Maori produced the mythopoetic native lore in which his mind revelled. The phallic cult, of which we detect survivals in Maori belief and usage, sprang from ignorance and wonder.

In an account given by Shortland of the death of the chief Tuhoro we see that the latter commanded his son to attend him, and, when the breath left his body, the son was to bite his forehead and *tawhito*, in order that he might inherit his knowledge and *mana*. Shortland translates the word *tawhito* as "perineum," but the old men of that district told me that it denotes the organs of reproduction. In other cases a son was told to bite the big toe of his father's foot, that he might inherit his priestly powers. In yet others the act performed was known as *whakaha*. The performer placed his mouth close to the crown of the head of the dead or dying person, and inhaled; it was not an expulsion of breath, as explained to me. This act was also performed sometimes in order to restore a person suffering under a magic spell. Again, we are told that when a priest was called in to attend a sick person he would in some cases bite the patient's head in order to deprive him of his *mana*, and so bring him the more completely under his own influence. Yet another act performed with the same object was the *ngau taringa*, or "ear-biting"; and an interesting account of this may be found in vol. 29 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, p. 204. All these extraordinary acts remind us of an old Roman custom, the inhaling of the last breath of a dying kinsman.

Ritual Performances pertaining to Birth.

There was much of *tapu* pertaining to birth in native eyes; indeed, it may be said that there were two aspects of this condition connected with parturition and after events. A woman was *tapu* when in the "nest-house," and that condition was allied to that of persons who handled bodies of the dead. There was also that aspect or phase of *tapu* that is attached to religious functions and ritual.

It is almost impossible to describe any native custom or rite as having been practised in the same manner throughout the isles of New Zealand. In probably all cases there are differences in performance or wording as in different districts or among different tribes. Thus, the ceremonies performed over newly born infants differed considerably, as we shall see anon. The higher the rank of the parents the more elaborate were the ceremonies performed over their child. The Maori respect for primogeniture and rank also led to

other results. In regard to first-born children only were the higher-class rites performed, and then only if they were members of the most important families. In families of lower rank the ceremonial was less important, and in the case of low-class folk no ceremony was gone through. The Maori had inaugurated aristocratic birth ritual as he had at least partially evolved the aristocratic marriage.

When a woman was about to give birth to a child she took up her abode on the outskirts of the village in a small hut constructed for her, and which was usually destroyed when she left it. Such a hut was called a *whare kohanga;* and this act of segregation equalled that practised in connection with a sick person. In some cases, apparently, this first hut was occupied by the woman only until the child was born, in which case it was called a *whare kahu.* After the birth of the infant, mother and child removed to the *whare kohanga*, where they remained until the *tapu* had been lifted from them. It was during their sojourn in the "nest-house" that the *tua* rite was performed over the child.

In cases of difficult parturition charms or invocations were repeated in order to bring relief. One of these contains the name of Pani in the form of Hine-tinaku — she who is described as the "mother" of the *kumara* (sweet potato) in Maori myth. But the being to whom native women ever turned in their hour of trouble was Hine-te-iwaiwa, or Hina, the latter being apparently the more correct form, who is simply the female personification of the moon. Here, as in ancient Egypt, the moon-goddess was the patroness or tutelary deity presiding over childbirth and the art of weaving. When such difficulties assailed a woman it was the practice to repeat over her the genealogical line of descent of her husband, and sometimes that of herself. The repetition of such lists of names served to bring relief to the woman.

In some cases a charm was repeated when the umbilical cord (*iho*, *pito*) of an infant was severed, after which a ceremony called *whakamoe*, or putting to sleep, was performed, which called for another charm. These charms were supposed to have the effect of making the child intelligent and clever, to endow it with a clear mind. The severed *iho* were often deposited in a crevice or hollow in a tree, often a tree standing on a boundary-line. Such trees whereat a number of *iho* had been deposited were sometimes smeared with red ochre. In modern times strips of cloth and brightly coloured cotton handkerchiefs were sometimes tied to these trees, so that unwary observers might have credited the Maori with tree-worship.

The *umu whangai* was a rite performed when the *iho* of an infant came away. It is described as an offering to the *tapu* of the child; it seems to have enhanced the condition of *tapu*, as it were, and to have had the effect of emphasizing the importance of the newly born one. The practice of burying the cord was a common one, and, in one district at least, a young tree was planted on the spot. The survival of the tree bespoke a healthy, vigorous life for the child.

Concerning the *tua* and *tohi* rites performed over an infant evidence differs much. Among some tribes both names seem to denote the ceremony wherein a child was baptized and also named. Some speak of the *tohi* rite but seem to be ignorant of the name of *tua.* Others claim them to be two separate rites, the *tohi* pertaining to the severing of the umbilical cord, and the *tua* to the naming of the child. *Waituhi* is apparently another name for the *tohi.* Among the Matatua tribes the *tua* was a "dry" ceremony, and included no form of baptism; it removed the *tapu* from mother and child. It was performed at the "nest-house" at dawn, ere the people were abroad, and before any food was cooked or eaten. No person not a participant was allowed to move about until the performance was over. The formulae recited were believed to endow the child with health, virility, courage, industry, all desirable qualities; also, they tended to preserve its life-principle. The charms influenced the gods to bring about these desirable conditions. The officiating priest took the child in his arms and held it as he chanted the formulae.

The *tua* rite was performed about a week after the birth of the child. In its highest form the *tua* or *tohi* rite dedicated the infant to Io, the Supreme Being: this was essentially an aristocratic rite. The secondary or ordinary form of the rite usually dedicated the child to the service of Tu, the god or patron of war: this was the *tua o Tu.* Another form was the *tua o Rongo,* which had the effect of endowing the subject with energy and industry in the peaceful arts of cultivation, &c. The ritual chanted by the priest over the child in the *tua o Tu* called for certain qualities to be implanted in him, also that he might develop into an able fighting-man. The following is a sample of such effusions: "May this child be active, strong, and strenuous; may he be able with *huata,* with *taiaha,* with *patu,* &c.; may he be expert in avoiding the spear and club; may he be fierce and relentless and swift-footed; brave and quick to slay the 'first fish'; so shall he flourish in the world of life," &c. The native words inserted are those of weapons. Occasionally human sacrifice entered into such a rite, but apparently it was a rare occurrence, and then it was merely to add *éclat* to the function, not really a ritual act. The body would be cooked and eaten at the ceremonial feast.

Concerning the *tohi* rite: this name was not only applied to a rite performed over infants, the *tohi tamariki,* but also to another connected with war, the *tohi taua,* and performed over fighting-men. It was this *tohi* rite into which aspersion entered, the subject, child or adult, being sprinkled with water. The rite performed over children was similar to the *tua* as far as objects and charms are concerned, but it was performed at a stream, and the subject was sprinkled by means of dipping a twig in the water, or sometimes merely the hand was so dipped. The Maori was much given to the use of twigs, leaves, and rods of *Coprosma* in his ceremonial functions. Female children were *tohia* to Hina-te-iwaiwa, or Hine-kahau. *Tohi ora* is the name of a rite performed in order to preserve the health and welfare of the subject; it seems to be also known as *kawa ora* and *tu ora;* while the *mauri ora* and *tuapa* are similar rites. The chief object of these ceremonial functions is the protection of the sacred life-principle; that being assured, then physical welfare ensues.

Among the Kahungunu folk of the eastern side of the North Island the *tohi* rite was performed over the child when the *iho* fell, and no mention is made of the *tua,* save as a synonym for *tohi.* If the period of trouble of the woman extended to the fifth day, then it was known that she or her husband had committed some wrong action, its effect being felt in protracted labour. A priest would then be called in, who would make inquiries as to the moral cause of the trouble, and remove it, to enable the child to be born. He would then recite a charm over the woman in order to assist delivery. As he finished his recital he laid his right hand on the woman's head, and the child was born. Should, however, the case be a bad one, it might be necessary to convey the woman to the local *tuahu,* or sacred place, where another charm was repeated over her.

The *tohi* rite was performed at some stream, at a place not likely to be trespassed on in later days. In the case of a child of the *ariki,* or highest rank, the function was quite an imposing one, and was marked by punctiliousness. Two priests, the *tohunga tohi* and the *tohunga tarahau,* took part in the proceedings, and the baptismal party marched in procession to the waterside. The *tohunga tarahau,* or assistant priest, led the way, followed by the mother with her child and husband; then came the mothers of the parents, then the two female nurses (*tapuhi*) who had attended the mother, then the fathers of the parents. In the rear walked the *tohunga tohi,* or *tohunga waitohi.* Mats were spread near the water on which the parents sat, the wife on her husband's left side, she holding the child; the others stood in the rear. The principal priest discarded his garments, and, with a green branchlet in his hand, entered the stream, standing where the water was up to his loins. Holding the twig in his right hand, he dipped up a little water in his left hand, and recited a form of invocation to Io, the Supreme Being, and to Para-whenuamea (personified form of water), after which he sprinkled the water on the leafy branchlet. The mother now handed him the child,

and he faced to the east as he held the child in his arms. In this position he recited another invocation in which the name of the child was mentioned. On completing this he stooped down until the child's body was immersed in the water, previously covering the child's mouth with his hand. Rising again, he handed the child to its father, who returned it to the mother. (My informant omitted to say what was done with the branchlet; apparently something has been left out.)

The next act of the priest was a divinatory one. His assistant plucked a few leaves and handed them to him, and he recited over them these words: "Here is thy neophyte, O Io the Parent! Dedicated to thee to acquire form and growth, as a proper son for thee. For thine is this child, this neophyte; a repository of knowledge, a wise one of thine." As he completed this utterance, he cast the leaves into the stream and allowed them to drift away. According to the manner in which the leaves floated down-stream auguries were derived as to the child's future. The priest then performed what is termed the *ohorangi* rite, which "awakens the heavens." He recited the following:—

Tenei au he kau tu, he kau noho
He kau aro ki a koe, e Tawhiri-matea i runga nei!
Papa, papa tahi nuku, papa tahi rangi nau, e Whaitiri!
He murimuri aroha ki tenei tama nau, e Tama-te-uira!
Taua i te itu, taua i te mauri
Taua i te iho o to tama ariki
Ki tenei pia, ki tenei aro nou, e Tawhiri-matea . . . e . . . i!

He now struck two stones together and threw them up in the air, whereupon, and immediately, the voice of Hine-whaitiri, the Thunder Maid, was heard in the echoing heavens. Now, if this peal of thunder resounded in the east or north it was a good omen for the child's future; if in the west or south it was an evil omen—a hapless future lay before the child.

The next act of the *tohunga tohi*, or baptizing priest, was to sprinkle water over the assembled folk, parents and other relatives of the child, at the same time repeating—

He uenga nui, he uenga tauhinga
Tau tu ki tenei tama
He toi tu, he toi aro, he toi matua ki a koe, e tama . . . e . . . i!

The priest now left the water and took his stand by the side of his assistant, being careful not to make any attempt to dry his body. The assistant now handed him a living bird, a *miromiro* or *tatahore* (two small forest-birds) that had been captured for the purpose. He intoned a formula over the bird as he held it in his hand, then touched the child's head with it, and then released the bird, allowing it to fly away. The charm or invocation recited calls upon the child to open his or her ears and acquire the knowledge of his ancestors. It also endowed the child with *mana*, a quality that emanates from the gods. The release of the bird is said to illustrate or represent the return of such *mana* to the gods when the subject dies, no matter at what age. I am, however, strongly disposed to believe that it had some other meaning that is not explained. The clapping together of the two stones was an act of mimicry to represent a clap of thunder. Should the heavens respond, the fact showed that the rite would be an effective one; if it did not do so, then the whole proceeding would be virtueless. One would imagine that failures would be somewhat numerous, but you cannot convince a Maori of such a likelihood. We are told that the immersion of the child had an absolutory effect—that it did away with noxious external influences or effects, such as any perplexities or troubles of any kind affecting the mother.

Our *tohunga waitohi* now performed another singular act. He took a sharpened stake or pole that had been provided, called the *pou uekaha*, and with the pointed end punched a hole in the earth near the *paparoa*, the mat on which the parents were seated. He then procured a certain number of small stones, one for each day that the mother

had been assailed by the pains of labour, and deposited them in the hole. He also placed therein another series of stones to represent the lunar month in which the child had been born. Thus, if the birth had taken place in the seventh month, then seven stones were put in the hole. Quite possibly the two lots of stones were separated in some way, in the light of other evidence, but this is not assured. On these stones in the hole was now deposited the *iho* (severed umbilical cord) of the child. The hole was then filled up with gravel. The position of this hole with regard to a nearby tree or rock would be noted in case it might be considered desirable to locate it in later years.

Such was the *tohi* rite as performed over a child of rank at the *wai matua*, the living water that alone is suitable for use in such cases. The party then returned to the village, the mother going with them, for she was now free from the "nest-house." As they approached the village house the assistant priest chanted a certain lay, termed a *whakaaraara*, which warned the village folk of the return of the *ope wai matua*, as the party was called. The villagers assembled and welcomed the party with the rhythmic measure of the *powhiri*, or welcoming-song. The porch of the principal house would be prepared, spread with mats, to be occupied by the parents and child. The latter would be laid on a garment spread over mats below the window-space, and a weapon, such as a greenstone *patu*, was placed under the child's head. As human sacrifice appears to have been unknown in connection with this rite among the Kahungunu Tribe, it is just possible that the peculiar custom of laying the babe's head on a weapon was a survival. Then again, it may have been connected with the universal desire to see a male child develop into an efficient fighting-man.

The assistant priest then took his stand in front of the house-porch, near the post supporting the prolonged barge-board, and, facing the assembled people on the plaza, he chanted another invocation designed to bring benefits to the child. As in many other cases, no names of gods are mentioned in this effusion; it is one of those vague, indirect appeals so often met with in Maori ritual. After this, speeches of greeting were made by members of the community to the child, its parents and grandparents, and presents for the child were brought forward. All these functions were carried out in the one day, the day that mother and child left the "nest-house," which temporary hut was then destroyed by fire, and its very ashes collected and deposited at a *tapu* spot.

Some interesting notes on these rites pertaining to birth are given by the Rev. R. Taylor in *Te Ika a Maui*, and also by Shortland in *Maori Religion and Mythology*. The latter also gives one of the charms repeated in order to assist a woman in her hour of trouble.

The following ritual chant is one of the superior type, as taught in the *whare wananga* to those scholars who were destined for the office of priestly expert of the first class, and to them alone. It may be termed an invocation and dedicatory psalm chanted by priests when they performed the peculiar baptismal rite called *tohi* over an infant. Lines 11 to 19 clearly show its dedicatory nature, when the babe was placed on the outstretched hands of the chief priest and by him held up towards the heavens. This act, accompanied by appropriate words, was a dedication of the infant to Io, the Supreme Being, Io the Parent and Io the Parentless.

Tenei au he uriuri, he pia, he aro nou, e Io e!
Ka turuki atu ki a koe
Ki nga atua o nga rangi tuhaha
Kia turuki mai koutou ki tenei tama
Ki tenei aro, ki tenei pia.
Ki tenei tawhito, ki tenei tipua nou,
E Io mata ngaro . . . e . . . i!

Tenei to uriuri, tenei to pia, tenei o aro
He aro turuki mai nou,
E Io matua . . . e . . . i!
Tenei ka rewa, ka rewa ki runga ki taku ringa*
He hapahapainga nuku
He hapahapainga rangi
Ki a koe, e Io . . . e!

*At this juncture the priest holds up the child as explained above.

Tenei ka tohia to pia, to uriuri,
Ki te wai o Moana o Rongo
O Moana o kura, o Moana wai rangi
O Moana Para-whenuamea
Ki a koe, e Io . . . e!
Tenei au ka tohi i te ingoa ki a koe
E Io taketake . . . e . . . i!
Ka tohia, ka tohia ki.....
Ka whakamau atu ki te uru tu,
Ki te uru tau, ki te uru rangi,
Ki te uru tangata nau
E Io rangi . . . e!
He puri nui, he puri roa,
He mauri taketake nou,
E Io te waiora . . . e!
Tenei ka tau, ka tau ki a koe
He uri, he pia, he aro
He tama tane, he tama wahine
No Tane, no Hine-ahu-one
Ka tau, ka tau ki tenei.....(tama)
E Io taketake . . . e!
E tipu, e rea he pia nou
E tipu hei kauru nui, hei kauru roa
Hei kauru toi nui, toi roa
Toi matua ki te ao taru aitu
Ki te ao marama taiahoaho nau,
E Io taketake . . . e . . . i!
Tenei au te turuki atu nei ki a koe,
E Io mata ngaro . . . e!
Kia turuki mai koe he hikitanga
He hapainga, he arewa
Ki tenei tama, ki tenei pia
Ki tenei uriuri nou,
E Io tama akaaka . . . e!

These effusions contain a number of archaic and obsolete expressions, also many words found in vernacular speech but which also carry a sacerdotal meaning of quite a different nature. Probably no living native could now explain some of the expressions in the above invocation to the Supreme Being. It is a very old composition, and interesting withal, but I refrain from an attempt to translate it.

In vol. 6 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* is given an account of the *tohi* rite as practised at the Chatham Isles. Here the priest dipped his hand in water and wetted the forehead and face of the child. A small tree was planted "to symbolize the growth of the child," as Mr. Shand puts it, and a number of charms were repeated.

In his lectures on Maori customs the late Mr. John White gave an account of native usages pertaining to birth that contained some interesting notes. These data were probably obtained in the northern part of the North Island. He remarks that a branchlet of *karamu* (*Coprosma*) was employed wherewith to sprinkle the infant, after which it was planted in the earth. If it struck root and grew it was a favourable omen for the child's future. Such a tree, he adds, was called a *kawa*. This word often appears in accounts of native ritual. Certain charms were styled *kawa*, such as the *kawa ora*, *kawa pa*, *kawa waka*, *kawa whare*, and *kawa mo te riri*. The first of these was a charm to endow a person with spiritual and physical welfare; the second was to promote the prosperity of a village home and its inhabitants; the third did the same for a new canoe, the fourth for a new house, and the fifth was recited over men about to engage in fighting. The *kawa moana* was connected with sea-voyaging. In some at least of these ceremonies a branchlet was used as in the *tohi* rite, and seems to have been alluded to as a *kawa*. In the case of a new house, canoe, or fortified village the rite seems to have included a lifting of the *tapu* that had hitherto pertained to it. The expressions *kawa ora* and *tu ora* are both applied not only to a rite and charm or invocation, but also, apparently, seem to equal *mauri ora* (the sacred life-principle). The term *uru ora* is sometimes employed in a similar sense, as also is *kauru ora*. Both *kawa ora* and *tu ora* are applied to the charms repeated over an infant in the *tohi* rite with the object of endowing it with physical, intellectual, and spiritual welfare; they endowed the child with the desirable quality or condition termed *hauora*. The *tira ora* was a similar rite.

A peculiar institution known as *tuapa tamariki* is reminiscent of the *kawa* birth-tree and the material *mauri*, a form of talisman. It was evidently not a universal usage, and possibly only a local one. As Tamarau, of Tuhoe, explained it to me, it was a hewn piece of timber set up as a post at the time a child was born. A *tohunga* was employed to perform a certain rite over it in order to endow it with power to ward off all evil influences from the child. The belief seems to be that the post absorbed the semblance of the vitality and general welfare of the child, including that of its sacred life-principle, and protected them from all harm. Hence it served as a *mauri*.

The *turakanga* rite referred to at p. 64 of Shortland's *Maori Religion and Mythology* is evidently that known as *tira ora* to the Tuhoe Tribe. At p. 39 of the same work appears an interesting account of a rite performed over a woman who experienced difficulty in feeding her child. Into this curious ceremony also aspersion entered. In vol. 11 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, at p. 203, is an account of rites connected with birth at Niue Island.

I am inclined to think that *tuora* may be written as one word, as being practically equivalent to *waiora* and *hauora*. The *wai* of *waiora* is probably the *vai* (to be) of eastern Polynesia, and in *tuora* we probably see the *tu* (to be, to exist) of Easter Island, and *tu* (life, being, existence) of Mangareva.

The *tira ora* rite was performed on several different occasions, pertaining to both war and peace. In this performance two small mounds of earth were formed. One of these was known as Tuahu-a-rangi, the other as Pukenui-a-Papa. In each of them was inserted a wand or branchlet of *Coprosma*, that of Tuahu-a-rangi being the *tira ora* (representing life), and that of Pukenui the *tira mate* (representing death). The former mound, and wand or sprig, represents the male sex—welfare and life; while the others represent the female sex—earthly matters, death and misfortune. Rites performed at these mounds caused all misdemeanours, the taint or effects of all wrong acts of the subjects, to be absorbed by the *tira mate*, leaving such subjects in a clean, pure condition intellectually and spiritually. The priest then overthrew the *tira mate* and left the *tira ora* standing. This rite was certainly of an absolutory nature.

The use of small mounds of earth entered into several rites of yore. In the popular version of the origin of man Tu-matauenga formed an image of earth, which he vivified, and which developed into Tiki, the progenitor of man. Prior to forming the image, Tu fashioned a mound of earth and thrust into it two green branchlets that represented life and death. This looks like the *tira ora* rite, but there is no explanation of its connection with the image-making. (See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 14, p. 125.)

Ritual Performances pertaining to Marriage.

Though there was much of ceremony connected with birth among the Maori folk, the same cannot be said with regard to marriage. There were certain ceremonial meetings, visits, and presentations, but there was nothing that could be called a religious rite save in connection with the aristocratic form of marriage. When such a function was observed among the "best families" of Maoriland, a ceremonial feast termed the *umu kotore* was held, and on the same day a priest recited over the couple certain charms or invocations. One of these was repeated with a view to preserving the welfare of the subjects, and to ward off all evil influences; another imparted *mana* to the ceremony; and yet another, styled the *ohaoha*, was almost equivalent to a blessing—it invoked a condition of fruitfulness for the young wife. The ritual repeated in order to join the pair was called *whakapiri*.

There were also a few other rites connected with marriage, such as the *atahu* and *toko* and *miri aroha*. The *toko* had for its object the divorce of a married couple, while the *atahu* was a kind of white magic carried out on the lines of suggestion and sympathetic magic through a medium. That medium might be either animate or inanimate. *Atahu* is a word that denotes a love-charm, and includes the performance of a ceremony that accompanied it. The term *iri* is sometimes used in a similar sense, but I doubt if an old-time Maori would describe it as a synonym, inasmuch as it is sometimes employed in other senses, as to bring to sight an absent person. Some writers think that it was used as denoting some such influence as hypnotic power.

By means of the *atahu* rite an errant wife or husband was caused to return. It was also resorted to by a man who wished to influence a woman in his own favour; it was even said to be effective in overcoming dislike on the part of a woman. In such

a case as the last an expert would take some article that would serve as a medium, and recite his *atahu* charm over it in order to render it effective. This object had then to be placed in some position where it would be in contact with, or close to, the woman, perhaps under her pillow. Such contact would cause the medium to do its part effectively, and that woman would henceforth regard favourably the man she had disliked. The most interesting form of *atahu* was that in which a living bird was employed as a medium. This bird was despatched as an influencing medium; and we are told that it was always a *miromiro* (North Island tit) that was so employed. A charm was repeated over the bird and it was despatched on its errand. It would fly straight to its objective, be that person ever so distant, and alight on his or her head. That person would at once be impelled to rise and proceed straight to the sender of the mediumistic bird. To suppose the case of a woman whose husband had left her, her course would be to apply to one of the *tohunga*, male or female, who dealt with such matters. This adept would take her to a stream in the evening, repeat an *atahu* charm as he sprinkled her with water, whereupon he would see the shadowy form (*wairua*) of her errant husband standing beside her. The woman was then told to go home, that all was well, and that her husband would soon be with her. It remained for the adept to despatch the bird in quest of the absent husband.

Hamiora Pio, of Te Teko, described a form of *atahu* to me in which the operator waited until a wind was blowing from him towards the home of the person to be affected. He would then proceed with his ceremony. Taking up a feather with his left hand, he passed it under his left thigh, and then, holding it up in his advanced hand, he recited his charm. As he finished his recital he tossed the feather into the air. Presumably the wind was supposed to bear the feather to the subject.

An east coast account of the *atahu* is as follows: A person would apply to a priest to cause a wife or husband to return home. The adept bids the applicant expectorate into a shell. He takes the shell in his right hand and wades into the stream until the water reaches his navel, when he faces the place of sunrise and repeats his charm:—

Tenei au he tipua, he tawhito
He ukiuki ki a koe, e Te Ihorangi . . . e.
Tenei au he pia, he uriuri nou
Tenei tama no —— [*Name repeated*]
Tenei te hau ko taku hau
Tenei te hau ko te hau o —— [*Name of applicant*]
Tenei to hau ko te hau Paraweranui
Hei whiu mai i a koe ki tai kainga
Tenei to hau ko Tahu-makaka-nui
Hei whiu mai i a koe ki tai kainga
Tenei to hau ko Huru-mawake
Hei whiu mai i a koe ki tai kainga
Tenei to hau ko Huru-nuku
Hei whiu mai i a koe ki tai kainga
Ko to manawa, ko te manawa o —— [*Name of applicant*]
Tenei to manawa ko taku manawa
Tu hikitia, tu hapainga; to ara ko te ara o Tane-matua
Tu hikitia, tu hapainga; to ara ko te ara o Tiunga-rangi
Tu hikitia, tu hapainga; to ara ko te ara o Haronga-rangi
Ka tau ana koe Mahora-nui-atea
Ka tau ana koe ko to whare ko te ahuru mowai
Ki tenei tahu nau . . . e . . . i.

Having finished his recital, the priest releases the shell on the surface of the water and allows it to float away. The account goes on to say that the shell would float away up-stream until lost to sight. The adept then says to the applicant, "Go, return to your home. Your spouse will return to you." Whether the "up-stream" is a mistake or not I cannot say. It is possible that the powers of the adept were supposed to be equal to the task of making the shell float up-stream. Or was it a tidal river?

We have on record an account of a man employing a sea-shell as a love-messenger, as related by Colonel Gudgeon. He uttered an *atahu* charm over the shell at Titirangi, the high hill near Gisborne. The power of that charm caused the shell to make a long sea-journey to Opape, where it put itself in the way of the much-desired woman. When she picked it up the contact had a remarkable effect on her; she became more and more restless, until impelled to go to the man who desired her, a far and rough journey. Another such story tells of a hawk being employed as a messenger, and the bird affected the woman by dropping a feather upon her. Yet another story, related by Tunui-a-rangi, gives an account of a man so influencing a distant woman by means of the *iri* charm alone; no form of medium or messenger is mentioned. All the man did was to wait until the wind was blowing from his home towards that of the woman, when he ascended an adjacent hill and recited his charm, the result of which was highly satisfactory to him. Fornander has recorded similar acts of the *tohunga* of the Sandwich Isles.

In vol. 20 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* is given an account of a performance of the *umu atahu* or *atahu* rite by a man named Te Rangi-tau-marewa, who, on a visit to Ripiro, fell in love with a woman named Te Hana. He managed to filch a thrum from one of her garments, and used this as a medium over which to recite his love-charm. After his departure for his home the woman was compelled to follow him, and this journey included five miles of swimming, though with two resting-places in that distance.

Occasionally a rite was performed in order to divorce a married couple, and this was called *toko*. Another expression employed is *miri aroha* (love-effacing), and this term was often applied to a clandestine ceremony. If an expert was asked by a woman to "efface" her affection for her husband, he would conduct her to the water-side, the *wai tapu*, or ceremonial waters of the village community. Here he would take from her the *ahua*, or immaterial semblance of her affection, after he had sprinkled water on her, and, of course, the act was accompanied by the repetition of a charm. The action was a curious one; he just touched her body with his fingers as though picking something from it, but brought away nothing material. Through the agency of the charm and this imaginary medium he would succeed in "effacing" the affection of the woman. "*Ka miria tona aroha, ara ka horoia atu,*" as the Maori puts it. The form of charm repeated was a singular one:—

Toko te rangi
Tu ke Rangi, tau ke Papa-tuanuku.
Nga rakau i te ngahere te homai mo to kiri
Kia tutu, kia wewehi mokinokino.
Nga otaota i te ngahere te homai mo to kiri
Kia tutu, kia wewehi mokinokino.
Nga ongaonga i te ngahere te homai mo to kiri
Kia tutu, kia wewehi mokinokino.

Herein the couple are called upon to separate as sky and earth separated in long-past ages, while the nettles and trees and plants of the forest are called upon to cause the woman's skin to be as "quills upon the fretful porcupine" in the presence of her husband—that is, to cause her to dislike him. Another account describes this rite as being performed over both man and wife at the same time.

I have a note concerning a stone of peculiar form at Matahiia, east coast. It is said that this stone possesses, or did possess, certain innate powers, for we are told that the *miri aroha* rite, or something akin to it, was performed at it. If a woman desired to leave her husband and prevent any recurrence of her affection for him, all she had to do was to go and lay her hands upon that stone. Doubtless she would recite a charm at the same time. Now, this stone has another peculiarity about it: a hole in it has been plugged by means of driving a piece of stone into it, the plug being then

smoothed off, perhaps by a rubbing process, to the level of the main stone. This part is called the *pito* by natives, and this probably explains the plugged hole. My informant was puzzled by the term *pito*, but remarked that Mr. T. S. Williams, of Kaharau, has a similar stone, and that Mr. Kemp stated that it was a practice of the natives of those parts to bore a hole in a post and plug it up with a piece of wood: this also they styled a *pito*. Now, these plugged holes illustrate an old native method of disposing of the umbilical cord (*pito*, *iho*) of an infant, and it was probably the *pito* contained in the plugged hole that imparted *mana* to the stone utilized in the *miri aroha* ceremonial. Some years ago the Auckland Museum obtained from the east coast a carved figure that had such a plugged hole in it. On extracting the plug there was found a dried-up *pito* in the bottom of the hole, which hole had been bored with an auger.

In native songs we often encounter such expressions as the following: *Wehea ki te wai, kia hemo ake ai te aroha i a au.* In such words the singer expresses his or her desire that the *miri aroha* rite be performed over him or her at the waterside, so as to ease the feeling of affectionate longing for an absent one, or regret for the loss of a friend.

Ritual connected with Sickness and Death.

We have now to deal with matters in regard to which the Maori was exceedingly superstitious. Concerning sickness, death, burial, exhumation, and redisposal of the bones of the dead the Maori had many singular beliefs and performed many ceremonies. Certainly burial was the least prominent of these, but exhumation was held to be a very *tapu* and important institution.

In the native treatment of the sick we observe some of the most puerile examples of superstition. The belief held by the Maori that practically all diseases and complaints were inflicted by the gods would naturally result in a neglect of medicinal research, even that of an empirical nature. The great number of herbal remedies used by the natives in modern times are the result of becoming acquainted with our European medicines, but few if any of such *wai rakau* or decoctions were used by them in pre-European times. The following are examples of the superstitious practices formerly employed.

When a person was afflicted with *kopito*, or stomach-ache, he would hie him to the local shaman. That worthy would procure a piece of a culm of *toetoe* (*Arundo conspicua*), which he handed to his patient, telling him to tap his body repeatedly with it, and at each tap to repeat the words *He kopito kei au*, prefaced each time by the name of a tribal burial-place, or of some local *maunga hirihiri*—that is, a mountain, hill, or range of tribal lands that is held to possess *mana*, is greeted by those leaving their homeland or who return thereto, and which is mentioned in song, speech, and charms as though it were a protecting power. Thus the charm repeated by the sufferer consisted of a number of such lines as the following:—

Maungaroa E! He kopito kei au.
Te Ana Korotu E! He kopito kei au.

(O Maungaroa! I have a stomach-ache. O Te Ana Korotu! I have a stomach-ache.)

Having finished his budget of names of such *tapu* places, he concluded with:—

Hangahanga mata turuturu
Ka ora, ka ora,
Whitiwhiti te koreke
Ka ora, ka matiti au . . . e.

The meaning of which is by no means clear.

In these cases the *mana* of the *tapu* place named was supposed to render charms efficacious. *Tapu* is the origin of *mana*, and the gods are the source of *tapu*; so that, if relief comes from a mention of *tapu* places, that relief really emanates from the gods.

Te Ana Korotu in the above effusion may possibly not be a proper name, but a cave wherein bones of the dead were deposited. The words mean "the skull-cave," and the Tuhoe folk so designate any cave in which exhumed bones of the dead were deposited.

Another method employed was to repeat the names of living chiefs and priests of the tribe: "Tell —— that I have a stomach-ache (*Meinga atu ki 'a Mea he kopito toku*)." His pains may have been caused by the spirit of some defunct elder or ancestor of such persons, and the mention of the name of a living relative of such spirit may cause it to relent and relieve him of his sufferings.

When a sick person consulted a priest the latter would perform a rude diagnostic rite, and report to his patient after the manner of barbaric man, not by giving the name of a complaint, but by stating what the cause of the trouble was—that is, some infringement of the laws of *tapu*. These things called for what may be termed expiatory rites, placation of the gods, and also for another performance known as *takutaku*, an expelling of the evil spirit afflicting the sufferer. The shaman procured a strip of *Phormium* leaf, or a fern-stalk, or some such object, and used it as an *ara atua*—that is, as a path for the demon to leave by. One end of the stalk would be placed on the sufferer's body. A charm to exorcise the demon would be repeated as a hint for it to leave. The following is a sample of such effusions:—

Tenei to ara
Haere ki o tipuna, haere ki o matua
Haere ki o koroua, haere ki nga mana o o tipuna, &c.

(Here is thy path. Go to your ancestors; go to your parents; go to your elders; go to the *mana* of your ancestors.)

If a shaman suspected that a patient had been bewitched, he would conduct him to the *tapu* stream and sprinkle water on his body wih a *karamu* branchlet as he recited a charm. He would then, we are told, see the spirit of the wizard standing by the side of his patient. Another incantation would be repeated to slay the wizard, or to nullify the effect of his magic. When a sick person recovered from his illness, the condition of *tapu* was removed from him in a ceremonial manner; this including the kindling of fire and the cooking of food. In one manner of performing this rite the adept took a piece of the edible plant called *puha*, and a dead ember from the fire, and passed them round the left thigh of the patient, from left to right. He then waved the hand containing those objects towards the heavens, and afterwards deposited them at the *tuahu*, or sacred place of the village. It is by no means easy to ascertain the signification of such acts, so very ancient are they, but there seems to have been a belief that the *ahua* or semblance of the disease passed into the herb. My informant here remarked that, although the right side of man is his *tapu* side, yet his left side possesses great *mana* or inherent power. Some curious acts were performed in native rites in connection with the left thigh and left side of man, which carries the mind back to similar practices in India.

When called in to succour a choking person the shaman would wave a stick to and fro before the sufferer, and at the same time repeat a charm, such as the following:—

Kaitoa ano koe kia raoa
Whiti raoa, taka raoa
Kahore he tangata i whakararua ai koe
Pakiri, pakiri ki uta, pakiri ki tai
He kawau, he kotuku.

The first line of this effusion is charmingly clear: "It serves you right to be choked." The rest is by no means lucid; the reference to the cormorant and heron in the final line may be a reference to greedy swallowers. Another mode of treatment was to slap the sufferer vigorously on the back while repeating a charm that begins "It is well that you are choking, for you ate greedily"—a remark that would scarcely comfort the victim.

In yet another method of treatment the shaman spits on his hand, grasps the sufferer by the throat, and repeats the following peculiar composition :—

Kaitoa, kaitoa, kaitoa ano koe kia raoa
He aha ra te manu i rere ki tai whakakoa ai
He toroa ra te manu i rere ki tai whakakoa ai
Ka kai o ika, ka tara o ika
Pa ki roto, pa ki waho
Homai ki waho.

This is a good example of these absurd charms into which appear to be introduced all sorts of subjects absolutely foreign to the matter in hand : "It is well, it is well, it is well that you should be choked. What is the bird that flew seaward to rejoice ? An albatross is the bird that flew seaward to rejoice." What possible sense can one see in such jargon as this ? The final line—"Come forth," or "Give forth"—is the only one that, after the first line, can be said to have any bearing on the subject of choking.

To cure a person of dim sight or threatened blindness all that seems to have been necessary was to obtain a grass-culm, point it at the sun, then at the eyes of the sufferer, at the same time repeating the ever-necessary charm, such as the following :—

Te tao o te ra tu aha ana
Te ra tu wewero ana
Ka whano koe ki Hawaiki, ki Ma-te-ra
Ki tou tupunga ake i tupu ai koe
Ma te mata kawha, ma te mata hura.

This peculiar ceremony was performed just as the sun was setting.

The following charm was repeated in order to cure a burn :—

I wera i te aha ?
I wera i te ahi
Ahi a wai ?
Ahi a Mahuika
Tikina mai whakaorangia
Hei mahi kai ma taua
Wera iti, wera rahi, wera kia raupapa
Maku e whakaihi, maku e whakamana.

(Burned by what ? Burned by fire. Whose fire ? Mahuika's fire. Proceed to restore him, that he may obtain food for us. Slightly burned ; severely burned : burned and chapped. I will empower and effect.)

One way of curing a headache was to obtain a piece of cooked fern-root (edible rhizome of *Pteris aquilina*) and wave it over the head of the sufferer. The idea seems to be that the demon who is causing the pain will fly from the presence of cooked foods. In a charm repeated at the time by the shamanistic *tohunga* occur the following lines :—

E Tiki E ! E Pani E !
Kia ora tenei tangata.

Here a distinct appeal is made to Tiki and Pani to cure the patient, a direct form of invocation that is but seldom encountered in Maori charms.

Another remedy for headache was the wearing of an amulet consisting of a piece of fern-root, which was suspended from the neck, and which, as used for this purpose, was styled a *pitopito*. Curiously enough, the Maori usually disregarded amulets, and this one is the only one known to the writer as having been used by our natives.

Dr. Shortland has given an account of a ceremony formerly performed over a person who had become insane. This rite, like many others, was performed in the water, both the priest and patient being in a nude condition. The former, with a sharp-edged flake of obsidian, cut a lock of hair from the left side of the patient's head, and another from the top thereof. The first lock and the flake knife were then laid on the ground. The second lock was held aloft in the left hand, and a stone in the right, as a charm was recited. The priest then took up the flake, breathed on it, and smashed it with

the stone he held in his right hand. He then took a shoot of the *toetoe* plant, tied both locks of hair to it, then immersed his body in the stream, and, as he did so, released the *toetoe* and hair, which floated away. He then recited a long incantation which, in its latter part, consigned to death the magician who had caused the patient to become insane.

Demoniac possession was a universal belief in Maoriland, and a great number of charms and ritual performances were employed in order to exorcise such demons and restore the afflicted ones to health. The use of mediums and the practice of symbolical rites were common. In fact the Maori, in dealing with sickness and disease, was on the same level as the Babylonians and Assyrians of yore; and the ancient Egyptians relied largely on charms or spells, and amulets, in cases of sickness, believing that all such complaints were the work of evil spirits. It is of interest to note how these puerile beliefs and superstitions have survived into modern civilization, and have been incorporated with Christianity. The belief in evil spirits and demoniacal possession has been one of the most serious blots on Christianity. Richard Taylor tells us of a small book entitled *Every Man his own Physician* that he bought in France. It was a Roman Catholic Church publication that contained many spiritual remedies, prayers or charms to cure many ills, and it was sold to ignorant, credulous people.

A great deal might be said as to ritual connected with sickness, but enough has been given to show the nature of such ceremonies. Perhaps one of the most interesting things connected with the subject is the old practice termed *tuku wairua* (soul-despatching). This was a charm recited over a dying person in order to despatch his soul to the spirit-world. It was sometimes termed *wehe*, a word meaning "to separate." A very interesting form of this ceremony was that practised by the Moriori folk of the Chatham Isles. The person who recited the formula supported the head of the dying person with one arm and pointed to the sun with his other hand. The charm itself was called Tami-te-ra, which is a name for the sun, the Tama-nui-te-ra of New Zealand. This effusion called upon the flitting soul to proceed to the sun and the heavens above—an interesting allusion such as is seldom encountered in Maori lore.

At the death of a person there was much mourning ceremonial, but little pertaining to burial. This was owing to the fact that it was desirable to draw no attention to the place of burial, lest it become known to enemies, who might filch the bones of the dead wherefrom to fashion spear-points, fish-hooks, and flutes. This use of the bones of enemies was a common usage, and it was viewed as a dire calamity and grievous insult. Such was the cause of secrecy in burial, and perchance of lack of ceremonious functions pertaining to it.

When a person was *in extremis* it was a common usage for persons in the vicinity to assemble around him. Then, ere he passed away, cries of farewell would be heard, farewelling his spirit to spirit-land, there to sojourn with those of his ancestors. This gathering to await a person's death is called *whakahemohemo*. At death the body was "trussed" at once for sitting burial, and placed in a sitting position against a post, where it would remain for several days. All this time mourning would be carried on, and fresh parties of mourners from other villages would be arriving.

The *hirihiri* rite performed at the death of a person was intended to assist his soul to reach the spirit-world, and so is allied to the *tuku wairua* already mentioned—if, indeed, it is not the same thing. An *ara atua* was employed by which the soul left the body, and a charm recited at the time assisted it so to pass. In modern times volleys of gun-fire (fowling-pieces) acquaint people with the death of a person. Should it be thought that a person has been slain by magic arts, then one would procure a fern-stalk (stipe of bracken) and strike the body with it, saying, "Here is your weapon by which to avenge your death." This is meant to incite the *wairua* (spirit or soul) to avenge the destruction of its physical basis.

Laceration of the body and limbs was practised by the *kiri mate*, or near relatives of the dead. It was viewed as a token of affection, esteem, and sorrow. In the innumerable speeches made during mourning functions there is eulogy of the departed one and much farewelling to the spirit-world.

In the Bay of Plenty district the ceremonial spinning of humming-tops occurred in connection with the function of mourning for the dead. A lament was sung, and at the conclusion of each verse a number of tops were spun. The humming sound made by the tops is said to have been compared to the wailing for the dead that forms so prominent a feature of such functions.

Another extraordinary ceremonial performance that took place at Ruatahuna in the "forties" of last century was the following: A certain clan or family group had been defeated in an intertribal fight, losing several men. Possibly the defeated party doubted its ability to obtain revenge; anyhow, it adopted a very peculiar mode of mourning. A lament was composed, and two *moari*, or swings (giant strides), were erected. The mourners assembled at these, each one grasping a rope of the swing. They would then sing a verse of the lament, and, at its conclusion, all swing off round the pole. Another verse of the lament would then be sung, and the swing again resorted to, until the final verse had been sung. Truly, barbaric man hath some strange notions!

Occasionally, we are told, a *tuapa* was erected at the death of a person. This was just such a post as that set up at the birth of a child, and it seems in some way to have represented the soul of the deceased person. A certain rite was performed at this post in order to prevent the spirit of the dead returning and annoying the living, or injuring the crops or other food products. The rite included, apparently, the recital of several charms, the real or simulated generation of fire, and the raising of a wind, or the performance of the *ohorangi* rite, the causing of thunder to resound. These two acts showing control over the forces of nature not only give force, effectiveness, to the rite, but also illustrate the *mana* of the priest. As to wind-raising, the adepts of the Tama-Kaimoana clan of Tuhoe would raise the tribal wind called Tutakangahau, while those of the Urewera clan would raise that called Uru-karaerae. The peculiar expression *hika* is employed to denote this wind-raising feat: *Ka hikaia ko te hau*—a singular usage, the word meaning "to generate"; the wind was generated.

Bones of the dead were sometimes used in rites in former times, for they seem to possess much inherent *mana*. Human skulls and bones placed in a field were looked upon as being highly desirable: they either caused crops to flourish or protected the vitality of such crops. A flute made from a human bone had most beneficial effects in cases of difficult parturition, and a skull is useful as "guardian" of a tree on which birds are snared. In his paper on *mana* Colonel Gudgeon tells us how a rough sea was calmed by placing in the waters the bones of a famed ancestral wizard.

There were many *karakia* (charms, incantations, invocations) pertaining to exhumation of bones of the dead and the final disposal thereof. Those who disinterred the bones were under heavy *tapu*, and, when the task was completed, they could neither partake of food nor yet return to their families until a purifying rite had been performed over them. The ceremonial feast that marked this function of exhumation was viewed as a highly important one, and the *pure* rite of which it formed a part was specially *tapu*. At these ritual feasts the food had to be cooked in a number of different ovens for what one may term the different castes of the people. The Tuhoe folk seem to have followed a system of six ovens for the ceremonial feast of the *pure*. These ovens have been explained and their names given elsewhere. We have no detailed account of this rite, but a small part of the *tapu* food was used as an offering to the dead. Food for consumption by *tapu* persons is termed *popoa* and *popoki*, when consumed in connection with some religious ceremony. Persons attending these functions had to be very careful not to partake of food from any oven but the one they were entitled to, for such an act would mean serious

trouble. Prior to the people commencing the feast, however, a priest had to perform the *whakau* rite over the food. This rite removed the *tapu* from the food and so enabled persons to eat it; it would be highly dangerous to consume it ere this ceremony was performed. The *whakau* is the higher form of this ceremonial freeing of food from *tapu* prior to a meal, and it is only performed on important occasions, such as this *hahunga* or exhumation we are describing. A less exalted form of charm is employed for any ordinary meal or function, and this form bears a different name, that of *taumaha*. The Maori believes that our grace before meals is a ceremonial removal of *tapu* from the food, to allow of its being eaten.

Curious beliefs were and are connected with food in Maoriland. Were a person going on a journey to some place whereat he thought there might be a danger of his being bewitched, he would cook a portion of food and take it to a *tohunga*, who would repeat a charm over it. The traveller would eat a portion of the food and put a small part in his belt-pouch and so carry it with him on his journey. That "prepared" food would protect him from all dangers emanating from black magic; it had the power to protect his life-principle. On his return from his journey he would proceed direct to the priest, who would free him from the condition of *tapu* he had been in during his journey. That *tapu* had been induced by his having been placed under the special care of the gods. After this latter ceremony the traveller was free to return to his home.

To return to our *whakau* rite of the *ahi pure*, the ritual feast of the exhumation ceremonial: When the priest recited this charm over the food he offered up a small portion of that food to ancestral gods, who endow his charm with its powers. He took another small portion of the food, and, as he intoned his charm or invocation, he held it over the arranged food-supplies. The charm or one such is as follows:—

To kai ihi, to kai ihi
To kai Rangi, to kai Papa
To kai tapu, to kai rua koiwi
To kai awe, to kai karu
To kai ure pahore, to kai matamua
To kai rua tupapaku
Whakataha ra koe, e te anewa o te rangi e tu nei
He tawhito to tapu e homai nei kei taku ure
Na te tapu ihi, na te tapu mana
Hinga ki mua, takoto ki raro ki to kauwhau ariki.

Doubtless these rhythmic utterances were considered to be effective, but a translation does not enlighten the European mind much. In this effusion the reciter announces to sky, earth, burial-caves, first-born sons, &c., that here is their food. He then calls, apparently, upon the whirlwind to pass by, and alludes to the power of the male organ as a protective agent. Translations of Maori *karakia* are to us puzzling and unsatisfactory. Having finished this recital, the priest lifted the piece of food to his mouth and repeated another charm.

The exhumed bones of the dead were tied up in bundles, each person's remains being so tied up separately, and were then deposited in some cave, chasm, or hollow tree situated in a remote spot. A priest preceded the bearers of the remains, repeating a charm as he proceeded. In his work *Te Ika a Maui* the Rev. R. Taylor gives a number of charms repeated during the exhumation and final disposal of bones of the dead, and a few such are given in a paper on Maori eschatology in vol. 38 of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*.

Ritual pertaining to War.

There were a number of ceremonial functions connected with war, but many of these have already been explained under other headings. In some cases a people who had been defeated in a fight would endeavour to avenge themselves by means of a rite termed *koangaumu*, which was an illustration of sympathetic magic. A garment belonging to one of the survivors was employed as a medium, and the wizard spells were repeated over it. These spells were intended to injure or cause the death of their enemies in either a direct

or indirect manner. Here my informant made use of a very singular expression—"*Ka taona nga wairua o nga hoariri ki te umu karakia*" ("The spirits of enemies were cooked by means of the ritual *umu*"), alluding to the magic rites explained elsewhere.

A form of charm termed a *hoa rakau* (also called *ki tao, mata rakau,* and *reo tao*) was recited over weapons in order to render them effective. The term *wani* seems to have denoted the same thing in the Wai-rarapa district. These charms were believed to have a very important effect. The word *hoa* is a peculiar one, and seems to mean "to affect by means of a charm." The *hoa tapuwae* is a charm repeated to render oneself fleet of foot, and was commonly employed in war, both by pursued and pursuer. Yet another charm, the *punga,* was repeated in order to weaken the running-powers of a person whom the reciter was pursuing. The *tuaimu* or *tuaumu* was a spell employed to weaken an adversary, and so employed in warfare, as also by wrestlers.

One account of the *hoa rakau* has it that the operator lifted his weapon to his mouth and *ka whakaha i tana rakau ki tona waha*—that is, he put the weapon close to his mouth and inhaled a breath, a somewhat common performance in native ritual. One Uemutu was the *atua* presiding over weapons (*rakau, patu*), at least in the Matatua district. The *hoa rakau* charm is said to locate Uemutu on the point or edge of the weapon, which renders it highly effective in disposing of enemies. When a fighting-force returned to its home village the members thereof were extremely *tapu,* and none might go to his home or partake of food until the *tapu* had been lifted, *kei kai ratau i te mata o te rakau* ("lest they eat the points of the weapons"), as the Maori puts it; in plain language, lest they pollute or defile the *tapu* of the weapons.

The following is a specimen of a *tuaumu* charm that consigns the human objective to the pit of darkness and calls upon unclean creatures to consume his condemned body:—

Ha te ruhi, ha te ngenge, ha te umu
Ha te ruhi, ha te ngenge, ha te umu
Mui te ngaro, totoro te iro;
E mate ki te Po,
E huri ki tua, ki wai, oti atu.

The *maro taua* was a charm recited by a warrior when engaged in putting on his war-girdle. A specimen of this class of ritual is given at p. 221 of Sir G. Grey's *Nga Moteatea.*

Te Wheawheau was the name of some form of rite or charm employed in war to render an enemy weak and nerveless. The operating priest procured a green branchlet and repeated a certain charm over it, then advanced to meet an attacking enemy force, and as he faced it he waved the branchlet to and fro. At the same time he repeated a spell that was supposed to unnerve the enemy, to render them irresolute and timid—an act described by the term *rotu.*

It was a native practice to endeavour to destroy or unnerve an approaching enemy force by means of burying some object under the path by which such force was expected to advance. The buried article was, of course, a medium; over it certain magic spells had been uttered that endowed it with power to destroy human life. Thus it was that a marching force sometimes avoided all paths as they approached its objective, lest such paths may have been "mined" by fearsome warlocks of dread powers. Or the *tohunga* of an advancing force might march at its head and, by his superior *mana,* clear the path of all dangerous obstructions emanating from wizardry. As he so marched he might be carrying the *amorangi* or emblem of his own god with him. Again, when travelling in hostile territory it is an excellent plan to walk as much as possible in water, as by traversing streams, so as to leave no footprints whatever. For, mark you, an enemy can take a portion of the earth where that footprint is and work grievous harm to the person who impressed it! The *manea* or *hau* of the person is adhering to that earth, and it serves as a medium in sympathetic magic.

The most important rite connected with the despatch of a fighting-force was that known as the *wai taua*, a very peculiar form of baptism performed over men who were about to pass under the rigorous *tapu* of the war-god. This ceremony was conducted at the *tapu* waters of a hamlet, an institution already explained in these pages. Prior to the departure of a war-party on a raid, all members thereof assembled at the *wai tapu*, and all, including the officiating priest, were entirely naked save some green leafy branchlets twisted round the waist. This discarding of garments was the common usage in all ceremonies of a very *tapu* nature. The rite is apparently the same as that termed *tohi taua*.

The warriors ranged themselves in a rank along the margin of the water, and facing it. The priest entered the water, having in his hand a slight green branch of *Coprosma* from which all leaves have been stripped save a few at the extreme end. Commencing at one end of the rank, he dipped the leafy end of the branchlet in the water, and then tapped the first man on the right shoulder with it. As he did so he began to intone his charm. This act was repeated for every man, as the priest proceeded down the long row of men. This was the *tohi taua* or *tohi a Tu*. It brought the warriors under the *tapu* of Tu and endowed them with courage. As in all cases of ceremonial functions, certain differences are noted in different tribal accounts. One collected by Mr. White is as follows: "In the morning we separated into our various clans, and each went to a separate place. We all sat in ranks, each clan by itself, apart from the others. Then came the *tohunga* of each clan with a branch of *karamu* in his hand, which he dipped in the water, and, reciting his charm, he tapped the right shoulder of each man with it. If a leaf fell from the branch as he struck the man, then that man would be slain in the coming fight."

In some cases divinatory ceremonies were performed during this *wai taua* rite, in order to ascertain what fate held in store for the party. Colonel Gudgeon has the following account: "The formal invocation used to obtain the favour of the gods for a war-party is called an *iho* or *iho taua*, and on such occasions it is Tu-matauenga and the tribal gods who are invoked. . . . The ceremony by which a war-party is rendered sacred and dedicated to the purpose which they have in hand is as follows: At the earliest dawn the warriors assemble by the side of some water (a running stream is preferred) for the purpose of the *tohi*, or rite of purification. When all the warriors are drawn up in line, standing with one foot on the land and the other in the water, the *tohunga* takes in his right hand a branch of the *karamu* shrub and dips it into the water. He then waves the branch over the naked warriors so that not only every man but every weapon is sprinkled. At the same time he raises the chant '*Wetea ki te wai, kia wetea*,' which may be translated 'Unloose [the sins] with water that they may be unloosed.' In this chant the whole war-party joins, and then, if the oracles and omens are favourable, they start at once on their destroying career." An important formula connected with these preliminary ceremonies was that termed the *kawa taua*.

It often occurred that two performances of the *wai taua* marked these warlike activities: the one, as we have seen, took place prior to the departure of the force from the home village, and the other was performed just before an attack was delivered, possibly many miles away. A priestly seer accompanied such forces on their forays as its most useful member, and all wills were subservient to his. The seer practically held command of the force, and often decided as to when, where, and how an attack should be made. In some cases he was attended by a young man who was a kind of understudy, and assisted in ceremonial functions; also, he was the bearer of any paraphernalia, such as the *kete pure*, a form of basket in which *tapu* objects were carried.

One of the most peculiar customs pertaining to war was the ceremonial cutting of the hair of the warriors at the *wai taua*, the *tapu* waters of a hamlet. We have never ascertained why hair-cutting entered so widely into what we may call religious ceremonies.

The rite known as *whangai hau* was connected with an offering to the gods, in which sense the term *whangai* is employed. The heart, or some other part, of the first enemy slain was taken as representing the *hau* of the enemy—that is, his vital power—and was offered to the gods. This is a placatory offering, that the gods may be induced to favour the supplicants, to assist them in their endeavours, to enable them to achieve success, and to retain an ascendancy over their foes. A lock of hair from the first slain was sometimes taken as representing the *hau*. This rite has nothing to do with the ordinary meaning of the word *hau* (wind, air). When the priest has extracted the heart of the slain one he offers it to the gods by waving it toward the heavens (*ka poia ki te rangi*), at the same time chanting an appropriate formula.

The spell termed *taumata* was employed by an attacking force in order to lull the mind of an enemy with a feeling of security; it would produce unpleasant weather conditions that had that effect. Several such charms were used, and these have already been described. The priest then took the *tapu* basket called the *kete pure*, which contained a portion of the sacred food that had been utilized in the *horokaka* rite. He generated a sacred fire styled *ahi taumata*, exposed the basket before it, then opened the basket and held it so that the opening faced the direction in which the enemy lived. He then recited a spell called *haruru*, one of several that come under the generic term of *kete*. This spell was to cause the spirits or souls of the enemy to enter the basket. The basket was then closed, and another spell repeated in order to destroy the entrapped souls. This latter spell seems to have been known as *kopani harua*. Another account states that the souls of the enemy were lured into the *tapu* fire by means of spells, and therein destroyed. The *umu tamoe* rite is a similar function. As to the *tapu* food carried in the basket, a fragment of this was given to each warrior of the force, who placed it in his belt. It had a desirable effect on his mentality; it rendered him clear-minded, resourceful, &c. The *tamoe* rite was extremely useful; it was employed not only to weaken an enemy prior to an attack being delivered, but also to prevent an enemy avenging a defeat.

When a young warrior killed his first man he took a lock of hair from his head and conveyed it to the priest, who repeated a formula over him in order that he might retain his ability, luck, &c. *Ahi manawa* was the name of a rite performed over the heart of a slain enemy; it might be the same as the *whangai hau*, or practised for a different purpose. In the case of a bitter blood feud the heart might be eaten. If a slain person chanced to be a relative his body would not be eaten, and a spell termed *makaka* might be repeated in order to render the body *tapu*—that is, prohibited. When a force had been victors in a fight some object was taken to represent the field and victory: it might be a tuft of hair from the head of a slain enemy, or merely some herbage from the spot. Such an item is known as the *mawe* or *ahua* of the battle or battlefield—that is to say, the semblance. Over this object a priest recited an incantation that enabled the party to retain its position as victor, its ascendancy over the enemy, and each member of it to preserve his courage, &c. Also it aimed at destroying or sapping the courage and determination of the enemy. At the same time some of the intense *tapu* of the war-god was lifted from the warriors—not that they were rendered *noa*, or common, but the stringency of that condition was lessened.

The return of a war-party to the village home was quite a solemn affair. The party marched in in column formation, though the Maori never kept step in such movements. At the head walked the priest who had accompanied the force, bearing the *mawe*. The party would proceed to the sacred place of the village, where the home-staying priests would be assembled to receive the warriors. These men would have discarded all clothing, and would wear merely a rude girdle of leafy twigs, or some such covering. A strip of green *Phormium* leaf tied round the waist, and having some branchlets of *karamu* inserted under it, was the usual mode of covering nakedness during these functions. As the

column neared the *tuahu*, a priest there stationed called out, "Whence comes Tu?" The priest of the war-party replied, "Tu comes from seeking, Tu comes from searching." The bearer of the *mawe* then came forward and deposited it at the *tuahu*, whereupon the assembled priestly experts clapped their hands and proceeded to intone certain ritual formulae. The next performance was the *whakahoro* rite, which rendered the warriors free from *tapu*, and, in the Matatua district, this took place at a stream, the *wai tapu* of the community. This function, also known as the *hurihanga takapau*, included the kindling of two fires, termed the *ahi horokaka* and *ahi ruahine*. At each of these the priestly expert roasted a single sweet potato, and he himself ate the tuber cooked at the former fire, and handed that of the latter to a woman selected to act with him in this *tapu*-removing rite. These acts were accompanied by the recital of the ever-necessary incantations. At the conclusion of this ceremony the men of the war-party were free to retire to their homes and mingle with the people. Neither these men nor yet the non-combatants were allowed to partake of food until the conclusion of this rite.

There was a good deal of ceremony pertaining to a formal peace-making in olden times. The proceedings included formal speeches, posture dances, songs, and *karakia*.

Many other ritual performances and formulae pertained to war, but most of them are mentioned under other headings.

Ritual pertaining to Agriculture.

Owing to the singular beliefs of the Maori with regard to the powers of his gods and of material but inanimate mediums, likewise in the life-principle of plants, there were a considerable number of ceremonial observances and formulae connected with agriculture. Inasmuch, however, as these matters have been described in detail in a former paper on Maori agriculture, it is not proposed to repeat such description here. The ceremonies pertaining to firstfruit functions are of particular interest. The amount of ceremonial connected with the first-caught birds of a season, and fish in a new net, is surprising, and was increased by the belief in the fertility of forests, birds, &c., being controllable by human agency. A study of forest-lore alone, with the art of the fowler, throws much light on native modes of thought. This latter subject has been dealt with at length in the pages of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*.

Miscellaneous Rites.

We have already scanned some of the peculiar ceremonies performed by travellers in order to protect their life-principle. There are a few other matters of interest that may be alluded to in connection with travelling. For example, when settling in a new land it was a Polynesian custom to perform a singular ceremony in order to introduce, as it were, the *mana* of their gods, to placate or render harmless those of the new land, and to avert any evil influences that might pervade the new home. A stone termed a *whatu*, or *whatu kura*, often figured in this ceremony, and seems to have represented the welfare of the people and the *mana* of their gods; the physical and spiritual welfare of the people were bound up in it. It was a talismanic object, and apparently a form of *mauri*. Only a priest of high standing, of the *amokapua*, or *pouwhenua*, or *tohunga ahurewa* grade could conduct the above rite, which was held to be one of the highest importance. A modified form of this rite would be performed by a single person. In the mythical story of the coming of Tarawhata from Hawaiki we are told that when he came to land at Tauranga he proceeded to "purge himself of any evil influence due to the new land." In this ceremony he used some seaweed as an offering, as was customary in functions connected with the ocean.

A common belief among our native folk is that, by employing certain charms, land or water may be contracted or drawn out—that is, that a path or journey may be shortened

or lengthened by such means. Hence travellers made frequent use of these useful charms, which served the same purpose as the *hoa tapuwae* already explained, and doubtless with less fatigue to the traveller. I remember my worthy neighbour Ngahooro, of Ngati-Mahanga, assuring me that in his youthful days he had walked from Te Whaiti to Taupo in a marvellously short space of time, by reciting a charm that caused the land to contract. This elasticity of land in pre-European days must have been a boon to travellers. Presumably its resilient qualities would cause it to resume its former proportions or dimensions after the traveller had passed over it. But here a question intrudes itself. We know that land could also be "elongated" by means of employing a certain *karakia*. Let us imagine the case of two persons, one a traveller desirous of contracting certain lands, another wishful of lengthening them: what about it? I can only surmise that it would resolve itself into a question of *mana;* the one possessing the greatest *mana* would win the day. However, the absurdity of these things never seemed to be noted by the Maori.

In the legend of Whakitapui, of Ngati-Ruanui, we are told that when she left her husband and fled to Whanganui she "drew out" the ocean by means of a magic spell, so that her husband would be delayed in pursuing her in his canoe. She also recited the *matapou* spell in order to prevent canoes passing over the ocean, to render them immovable. Thus her husband was compelled to follow her by land, on foot. She repeated a *hoa tapuwae* charm to hasten her own footsteps, and a *matapou* to delay her husband's progress should he pursue her by land. Meanwhile he was doing the same thing—employing both charms to enable him to catch up to her. This contest ended in the woman reaching Whanganui some time before the pursuing husband. When he arrived, however, her brief advantage in time had enabled her to find a new mate, and so all ended happily.

A considerable number of ceremonial performances and charms pertained to fishing —and, indeed, we must look upon such functions as religious observances. It is shown elsewhere that *mauri* or talismanic shrines were employed in order to protect the life-principle of fish, their fertility and general welfare, thus bringing fish under the protection and care of the gods. A great number of singular superstitions, beliefs, curious practices, omens, &c., are encountered in connection with fishing and net-making. Take the simple case of a man going afishing with a new line, not previously used. His companions would not cast a line until he had caught a fish with his new one. As he secured the bait on the hooks he spat on it, which act seems to have had a like significance the world over. He then coiled up the line and passed it over his left leg and back under the left thigh, after which he cast his line over the left side of the canoe as he faced the prow. As the line ran out he held it in his left hand and scooped up water with his right hand and cast it against the line. On returning to shore he took the first fish caught with his new line, and the bracken or other herbage that he had used as a seat in the canoe, to the *tapu* place of the village. He generated fire by the *hika* process and burned the bracken. At this fire he roasted a portion of the gills of the fish, taken from its right side, which he then held up in his hand and waved to and fro, at the same time calling to his dead male forbears that here was food for them. This was a *whangai* or offering. The other portion of the gills of the fish was served in a similar manner and offered to the spirits of his defunct female relatives. The fish he then hung up at the *tuahu* as an offering to the gods. These operations were accompanied by chanted formulae that have not been collected. Fishermen possessed a number of charms to repeat when fishing, and which were believed to bring good luck. Even when setting a pot or trap for crayfish or eels charms were repeated.

At Taupo, when the *inanga* season opened, some of the fish from the first net hauled were deposited at the *tuahu* as an offering to the god Rongomai. A *taumaha* rite was performed, and the ceremonial feast that accompanied it was cooked in five different ovens. The contents of one was for the chief priest only; that of another for the

woman who was employed in *tapu*-removing ceremonial; another was for the assistant priest, another for the fishers, and the last for the bulk of the people. To neglect these ceremonies was to bring poor luck to fishers.

The *taumaha* is a charm repeated over firstfruits of birds, fish, &c. Like the *whakau*, it removes *tapu* restrictions, abolishes possible harmful influences. In the Nukuoro dialect *taumaha* seems to denote a ritual feast. At Wallis Island *taumafa* is "to eat," and *taumafaanga* "a feast." At Samoa it means "to eat," and "food."

All fishing-canoes were under *tapu* when out at sea, and so no food might be taken in them; hence it must have been a poor lookout for those who were driven out to sea by winds rising suddenly, a thing that occasionally happened.

When at work net-makers employed a brief charm, which they occasionally repeated. In some districts, at least, any place where a new net was being made was under strict *tapu*, no person being allowed to trespass thereon. One of the fish first taken in a new net was placed at the *tuahu* as an offering to the gods. The depositor recited a charm as he did so. The fires or ovens wherein food was cooked for the ceremonial feast are often alluded to as *ahi parapara*, and many charms were employed in connection with nets, traps, ceremonial functions, and all the activities of fishing.

Of ritual connected with the ocean we encounter, apart from that connected with fish, such ceremonies as were performed by voyagers, and charms employed by individuals. Some of the latter are singular effusions. For instance, we are assured that, in olden days, if a canoe was capsized at sea, a person possessed of the necessary *mana* could procure assistance by calling upon the monsters of the deep, real and mythical. These would at once come to the assistance of the distressed ones, and either convey the canoe ashore or take the people on their backs and so carry them to land. One of these appeals preserved in my notebooks contains requests to a number of real and supposed ocean denizens, as "*Ruamano e! Kawea au ki uta ra*" ("O Ruamano! Convey me to land").

The *taniwha*, or monsters of the ocean and of rivers and lakes, are said to have frequently punished those who had transgressed the laws of *tapu*. Whenever such a creature showed a desire to attack a person, the latter could avert the danger by means of a simple rite termed *whakaeo taniwha*, already explained in this chapter. The *awa moana* was a rite to calm the waves of the ocean and smooth the course of a vessel. The *rotu moana* was a similar charm, and some of these intoned compositions are of considerable length. All such performances are dealt with in detail in a monograph on Maori canoes.

One very singular performance at sea was connected with certain sacred ceremonial stone *toki* (adzes). These implements are described as *he toki poipoi ki nga atua* (adzes waved to the gods). When a rough sea was encountered by voyagers, a priestly expert possessed of such an adze would produce it, intone a long and special *karakia*, and then make a motion with the stone tool as though chopping at the waves. This extraordinary act is said to have been highly efficacious: it subdued the angry waves; it severed them and caused them to break up and be scattered (*Ka motumotu nga tai, ka wawa noa atu, ka marara noa atu*). It is difficult to conceive the origin of such a singular act as the above, though possibly it is no more extraordinary than some features of the ancient double-axe cult of Asia.

Certain charms were recited by persons who had to engage in a long swim, and we are assured that they increased the endurance of a person to a marvellous extent. When Te Rau-o-te-rangi swam from Kapiti Island to the mainland in 1824 with her infant on her back, she succeeded because these strength-giving charms had been repeated over her, or by her.

Maori faith in their priests, as possessing power over the elements, should not, perchance, surprise us, for I myself have known our Christian priests pray for rain. The *tohunga maori* could, we are told, cause rain to fall, and also cause rain to stop and

bring a clear sky. The following charm (given by Tuta Nihoniho, of Ngati-Porou) was recited in order to cause rain to cease falling:—

E ua, e te uaua; e mao, e te maomao.
Tihore mai i runga, tihore mai i raro
Koi mate nga tamariki a te ika nui
E kiko! E kiko e.

(Rain, O rain, cease raining, fair sky! Clear away from above, clear away from below, lest the offspring of the *ika nui* be distressed.)

The expression *ika nui* is doubtful; it may refer to the earth. *E kiko* calls for a blue, unclouded sky.

To stop rain by means of a charm is described as *he tua i te rangi*, the word *tua* meaning "to effect by means of a charm," hence we find it in such expressions as *tua tamariki*, *tuamoe*, *tuapa*, and *tuapana*. The first and third of these have already been explained; the *tuamoe* is a charm to cause sleep, and the *tuapana* another to facilitate childbirth.

Many of these charms are difficult to render into English, and in many cases where one can give a translation it seems to contain no sense, or has no bearing on the subject. In 1852 Te Taniwha, of Hauraki, gave the following as a charm recited for the purpose of ensuring a fine day on the morrow. As a person repeated it he scratched the house-wall with his right hand:—

Rakuhia mai
Rakuhia mai te korokoro o Rangitoto
Kia rakuhia
Kia ao rawa ake te ra
He tio, he keho, he hauhunga.

It is difficult to see any sense in the opening lines of this effusion—"Scratch, scratch the throat of Rangitoto, that it may be scratched." If Rangitoto is the extinct volcano of that name in the Hauraki seas, why should its throat be scratched? The concluding lines are more to the point—"That the day may dawn with ice, cold, and frost." A frosty morn usually betokens a fine day.

The rite to cause rain to cease is called *puru rangi* (sky-plugging).

Not only were *tohunga* credited with the power to raise or lay wind, but also an expert of sufficient *mana* could cause most violent convulsions of nature, severe storms, and nerve-racking tempests. One way of allaying a wind was to use insulting expressions towards it, as in the following formula used by the Tuhoe folk:—

Pokokohua, poko-ko-hua!
Riri . . . e! Riri . . . e!
Riri te rangi i runga nei
Riri nga hau.

Simple ceremonies and charms were employed in order to dispel fog or mist, as by travellers, also to dispel frost; and other such interferences with natural phenomena were practised.

Te Taniwha also gave the following formulae used in former times by his people for the purpose of raising the four winds:—

Charm to raise a North Wind—

Hau nui, hau roa, hau titiparerarera
Kotia mai Hauturu kia kau i te wai.

(Hauturu = Little Barrier Island.)

Charm to raise a South Wind—

Hau nui, hau roa, hau pukerikeri
Kotia mai Kohukohu-nui
Kotia mai kia kau i te wai.

(Kohukohu-nui = A hill at the Thames.)

Charm to raise an East Wind—

Hau nui, hau roa, kotia mai Taranga
Kia kau i te wai
Moi, moi, kia kau i te wai.

(Taranga = An island.)

Charm to raise a West Wind—

Hau nui, hau roa, hau pukerikeri
Kotia mai i Rangitoto kia kau i te wai.

(Rangitoto = Island near Auckland.)

It seems probable that the preposition *i* should be inserted before the place-name in the first three of the above charms, as it appears in the fourth. The wind is, in each case, called upon to blow from the quarter in which the place mentioned is situated, and in each case also an intense, continuous, and violent wind is demanded.

Another such wind-raising charm is the following, the phrasing of which runs much on the same lines as that of the above :—

Hau nui, hau roa, hau wawahi waka
Hau pupuhi puputara ki uta
Hau titiparera, tipitipia mai
A runga o Whakaari ki te wai
Haehaea mai nga kakahu o to tupuna . . . e.

Puputara = a shell (*Septa tritonis*); Whakaari = White Island

(Intense wind, continuous wind, canoe-destroying wind ; wind that blows the *puputara* ashore. Fierce wind, cut off the summit of Whakaari [and hurl it] into the waters. Rend the garments of your ancestor.)

Charms were employed when a person's hair was being cut, when a stone adze was being sharpened or used, in house-building, canoe-making, tree-felling, &c. In fact, there were few activities in native life with which charms were not associated.

The following *karakia* is a good specimen of the higher type of Maori ritual of olden times, inasmuch as it appeals to the superior gods and also to the Supreme Being ; hence it may be classed as an invocation, a composition much superior to the shamanistic formulae employed by *tohunga* of a lower class in connection with ordinary everyday matters. It contains many archaic, cryptic, and sacerdotal expressions known and employed only by the few whose duty it was to acquire and conserve the esoteric lore of the Maori people :—

Tenei ahau he uri, he pia nou, e Io . . . e !
Tenei ahau te turuki atu nei ki a koe
He aro nui, he aro tea, he aro tipua, he aro nou, e Io . . . e !
Heue, heue te tawhito nuku
Heue he tawhito rangi nou, e Io !
Tenei au ka tupe atu i te uruuru matua,
I te uruuru tawhito, i te uruuru tipua
I te uruuru apa rangi, i te apa rangi nou, e Io . . . e !
Ko te tupe rangi, ko te tupe nuku,
Ko te tupe na Tupai
Ko te ueue nuku, ko te ueue rangi
Ki tahatu o rangi huru nuku, huru rangi
Ki a koe, e Tane Ruatau . . . e !
Tenei to aro, he aro noku, e Ruatau !
E Rehua ! E Tupai . . . e !
Tenei taku aro, he aro no nga tahito
He aro no nga tipua, he aro nou, e Tane i te pu !
Tamaua i tua, tamaua i roto taua
Tamaua ki to pia
Ko te ueue tipua, ko te ueue tawhito,
Ko te ueue whatu kura
Ko te ueue atua nou, e Io-matangaro . . . e !
Tamaua i roto i taku aro
Ko te whatu moana, ko te whatu nau, e Tane !
Tane te wananga matua
He uruuru tipua, he uruuru tawhito
He uruuru atua nou, e Ruatau, e Tane !
Ki to pia, ki to aro, he tama nau, e Io . . . e !

ADDENDA.

I.—KO RUAUMOKO.

KO Ruaumoko, ko te tuarua o ona ingoa ko Whakaruaumoko. Ko Whakaruaumoko e kai ana i te u o te whaea, ka hurihia te aroaro o te whaea ki raro, koia te tamaiti i waiho e nga tuakana kia haere ana i te whaea ki te Muriwai hou ki Rarohenga. Koia i kiia ai te tamaiti whakamutunga he tamaiti pekepoho, he potiki pekepoho, he potiki whakahirahira. Na konei te puia, te ru e ru nei. Titiro ki a Tane raua ko Paia; ko nga mea tenei o muri o taua whanau; na, ko raua ano nga tangata rongo nui o roto i tena whanau; ka tuturu taua whakatauki:—"Potiki whakahirahira, potiki whakahoki tipu." Kati enei.

Ko Ruaumoko i mau i te waha o te puta o Papa. Ka wehea nei e Tane nga matua; no te hurihanga nei i te aroaro o te hakui ki raro ki te Muriwai hou, haere tonu atu a Ruaumoko i te hakui. Koia i riri nei ki a tatau, e ru nei, e hu nei te puia, koia a Ioio-whenua, a Hine-tuoi, a Hine-tuarangaranga, a Te Kuku, a Te Wawau, a Tawaro-nui, me etahi atu, he ingoa no te puia.

II.—KO WHAKARUAUMOKO RAUA KO TE HINUTOHU.

NA Papa ano raua ko Rangi a Whakaruaumoko. Ko tenei tamaiti kaore i whanau, rokohanga ka wehea a Papa raua ko Rangi takoto tonu i roto i te kopu o Papa—

Papa-tuanuku = Rangi-nui
|
Whakaruaumoko = Te Hinutohu
|
Manu-ongaonga
|
Uetonga
|
Mataora = Niwareka.

Ko ta Whakaruaumoko wahine he mea tiki mai i tenei ao; he rongo i tae atu ki a ia—kotahi te wahine ataahua o runga, ko Te Hinutohu, tuahine o Tangaroa; ka kata ana, puaho ana mai nga niho me te pohoi toroa tera. Te mahi nui a tena wahine he waiata, he karakia i nga karakia wananga; koia te kaimau i te ahi tapu o Tangaroa. Koia te rongo o Te Hinutohu; tae ki a Whakaruaumoko; ka whanake a Whakaruaumoko, ka tae ake ki te Paehuakai; he taumata tera e titiro atu ai ki te kainga ki Te Kapu-kaiwhara. Ka tae mai tangata ra ki reira, katahi ka whatai atu te kaki ki te kainga i a Tahuanini. Ka tae tangata ra ki reira, katahi ano tangata ra ka eke ake ki te whatitoka i te whare i a Te Kuwatawata; karanga ake a Whakaruaumoko: "E Wata! Tuku atu au ki runga na."

Ka ki mai Te Kuwatawata: "E ta! Kua motuhia atu na hoki te po ki a koutou ko o tuakana." Mo Whiro-nui, mo Tau-te-ariki, mo Roiho, Taupuru, Ruakopito, Tawhao-nui, Kaupeka, Tawhiri-nuku, Tawhiri-wanawana, Mokotiti, Mokotata, me etahi atu, tona tini, tona mano tuauriuri whaioio. Ka karanga mai a Whakaruaumoko: "Kei te haramai te ao, kei te kake ake te po; tuku atu au." Ka huakina te tatau o te whare, ka tomo mai ma roto, ka puta mai ki tenei ao. Ka haere tangata ra i te ahua o te ruru, ka tae ki te take o te pa, ka noho i reira, ka whakarongo tangata ra e haka ana te whare nei, e waiata ana. Na, ka rongo ia e pepeha ana: "Ehara koe i a Te Hinutohu; tena tera o rona (?) me wai taha." Mo te rere pai nei te rere te tikanga o tera kupu 'me te wai taha.' Ka mohio a Whakaruaumoko koia tenei taua wahine.

Ka whakarongo tangata ra ki te pai o te waha ki te waiata, me te mea tera e hiki ana i a ia te ahua. Ka moe te iwi nei, ka haere atu a Whakaruaumoko ki roto i te whare; ko te kaiwhakaara i raro iho i te matao e moe ana. Ko te ingoa o te whare ko Hui-te-ananui; he whare whakairo tenei, korero ai nga whakairo o tenei whare o roto, ko o waho whakairo kaore e korero. Ko te tekoteko ko Manu-hauturuki, ko tamahine a Rua-te-pupuke. Ko te ingoa o te kainga ko Poutiriao, ko te ingoa o te pa ko Te Pakaroa. Katahi ka karakiatia e Whakaruaumoko kia moehewa te wahine nei; katahi ka totoro iho te ringa ki te konui o te waewae; ka karakia tera i tona karakia, koia tenei:—

Ko Whakaruaumoko, ko Whakaruaumoko au, e Hinu!
E kume i raro ra i te au maro, i te au whakarere
I te au tarere, i te au matawhaiti na Rua i te mahara
I te au titiraupenga na Tawaro-nuku
Na Tawaro-rangi mata ngaro
E whakaau ana koe i to moe, e Hinu e noho nei
E moe i te moe mata ngaro na to tungane, na Tangaroa

I te Moana-a-kura, i te moana terepuku, i te moana parauri
Ka tu takahi ki tawhiti ki te moana tutumaiao
Horahia ki takere nui o Kiwa
Ko tona marae takanga ia, e Hinu
E hiki to tapuwae, ko te tapuwae o Manu-tahakura
O Manu whakaangi, o nui (?) tikapa a Tane
E whakaangi ra i Tahekeroa
Nou anake tou tira haere kia rutua iho
Ko te po nui, ko te po roa na Matikotai
Whakaau piri rawa to tapu ki mamao
E moe, e moe i te po nau, e Rangi iho ai (?)
Ki tukemata pakau nou, e Tangaroa i te mata ngaro
Waiho i te aoturoa takiri ai i tohou tapu, e Hinu
Naumai taua, ka heke i te ara nui, i te ara roa
I te ara o toa ka rere i te rangi
Nou anake tou tira, awhai naku
Ka tuarua te ara ripi i te whare kuwatawata
E Hinu, e ! Ki au mata moe
E hika, to ara ko te ara o Mataora
E heke ai i te angi . . . e.

Ka mutu te karakia a Whakaruaumoko i konei, ka puta ki waho, ka karakiatia e ia a Matiko-tai, e noho ana i te poti o te whare ; ko reira hoki te kaiwhakaaraara : Koia tenei tona karakia :—

Ko Matiko-tai koe
Pokia o mata, pokia o mata ki o hautai
Ki o hau pa, ki o hau angi, ki o hau mahana
E tuku te ahurau e roropi mai te makoakoa
Heke aro nau, e Tane
E moe i te moe roa nau, e Papa i te autaha
E moe ko te moe nau, e Hurumanu
E Tuoioi tuohu paetaku . . . e . . . i.

Ka haere a Whakaruaumoko ki te tatau o te pa, e haere atu ana a Te Hinutohu ; ka haere raua, a tae tonu atu ki tona kainga. Katahi ano ka oho te wahine ra, ka moe i a Whakaruaumoko i konei. Koia tenei te matua o te parangeki i puta mai ai ki te ao nei ; kei te ara ki a Te Hinutohu, kei te ara ki a Whakaruaumoko ka heke ki te Reinga. Ka mutu te iwi e kaha ana ki te haere ki te Reinga, ki te hoki mai ki te ao nei. Ki te kitea taua iwi nei ki te ao nei, he tohu aitua tena na Te Hinutohu. Ka mutu te wahine o tenei ao i haere tanina atu ki Te Reinga ko Te Hinutohu ; ko Mataora hoki te tane.

III.—KO TE KAKENGA O TANE KI TE TOI-O-NGA-RANGI.

Na, ka tae ki te Orongonui katahi a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ka ki atu ki a Tawhiri-matea : " Me tuku mai e koe ta taua whanau hei kawe i au ki te puhi o nga rangi tuhaha, ki te tiki i te wananga o Rangi-nui raua ko Papa-tuanuku, me nga whatu."

Ka mea atu a Tawhiri-matea : " E pai ana ; me karanga e koe ki to ratau tipuna, ki a Huru-te-arangi, mana e tuku mai ki a koe ; kei runga o Tihi-o-Manono e noho ana ratau."

I muri o tenei ka haere ratau, a Tane-nui-a-Rangi, a Te Haeata, a Tawhiri-matea, a Uruao, a Tukapua, a Taka-wairangi, a Rangaihi-matua, me etahi atu, na, ka tae ki te wa i whakahorohoro ai nga kapua ki te paepae-taku o te taepatanga o Rangi ki roto i tona whare noho mai. Ko Te Ahoaho o Tukapua te whare o Hine-pukohu-rangi, o Tukapua, o Aoao-nui, o Aoao-roa, o Uhirangi, o Takere-wai, koia nei nga ingoa o taua whanau i roto i to ratau whare. He wehi hoki i a Huru-mawake, i a Huru-atea, i a Huru-luku, i a Huru-rangi, koi pakia ratau ki nga huapae o Rangi-nui whakapae ai ki Tauru-rangi, ki reira takapau mai ai.

Ka mea atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki a Tawhiri-matea : " Tukua mai ta taua whanau hei kawe i au ki te puhi o nga rangi kia pokapu ai au te kake ki te toi o nga rangi tuhaha."

Ka mea atu a Tawhiri-matea : " E pai ana ; me haere taua me o taua tuakana taina ki Rangi-tamaku nei." Ka whakaae atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ; ka haere ratau, ka tae ki Rangi-tamaku, ka korerotia atu ki a Huru-te-arangi, ka whakaaetia mai e Huru-te-arangi. Ka tonoa nga mokopuna kia tae mai, koia tenei nga mea i tae mai,—

Ko Titi-matangi-nui	Ko Titi-apu-hau	Ko Titi-te-apu-whakataka
Ko Titi-mataura	Ko Titi-koroi-rangi	Ko Titi-tu-te-ahunuku
Ko Titi-parauri	Ko Titi-hau-mapu	Ko Titi-tu-te-wanawana
Ko Titi-matakaka	Ko Titi-kokouri	Ko Titi-tu-te-ihiihi
Ko Titi-puhi	Ko Titi-kokotea	Ko Titi-tu-te-winiwini
Ko Titi-kauru-nui	Ko Titi-kohura	Ko Titi-tu-te-ahurangi
Ko Titi-roro-hau	Ko Titi-kokopara	Ko Titi-te-apurangi
Ko Titi-apu-nui	Ko Titi-pokai-rangi	

ara atu ano o tenei whanau o ratau, he tini whaioio ratau. Ko to ratau taunga i tau ai ratau ko runga i Tihi-o-Manono i Rangi-naonao-ariki. Kei reira hoki o ratau tuakana e tau ana, a Huru-

mawake, a Huru-nuku-atea, a Huru-nuku-rangi. Koia nei nga putake o te hau e kiia nei ko Paraweranui, he tonga tena ; ko Tahu-makaka-nui, he mauru tena ; ko Tahu-mawake-nui, ko te rawhiti tena, ko te whakarua tena, he hau marangai tena, he hau raro tetahi whakahua. Ko to ratau whare i noho ai ratau, ko Te Pu-mairekura, ko Rangi-tahua, ko Rangi-mawake, ko Tu-te-wanawana-a-hau, ka mutu o ratau whare. Ko Tara-puhi, ko Tara-pae, ko Tara-aorangi, ko Tara-waihekura nga kai ropiropi i te whanau nei. Ko to ratau marae ko Marae-nui, ko Tahuaroa, ko Mahora-nui-atea ; ta ratau mahi i reira he koakoa ana, e takataka ana, he ta potaka ta ratau mahi i reira, he takaaho ki a ratau ano. Ko to ratau taumata e whatatai iho ai ki nga rangi takapau ko Paroro-rangi, kei te tuatoru o nga rangi ki te ahu iho i runga te tatau, ki te ahu ake i raro nei te tatau ko te ngahuru tera o nga rangi. Ko te iwi noho o reira ko Tini-o-Matanginui, ko Tini-o-Mataruwai, koia nei hoki te putake mai o Huru-te-arangi, o to ratau tipuna. Ko te putake mai tenei o te uru kehu, o te uru korito, o te uru pakaka, o te korakorako ; ko tenei uru he uru ariki, kahurangi, taua uru pera.

Na, ka tae mai te whanau nei, ka haere a Tane, a Te Haeata, a Taka-wairangi, ki Tiritiri-o-matangi, ki te rangi ngahuru ma tahi ; ka hoki mai a Taka-wairangi i reira, a Te Haeata. I mua ake o tenei to ratau taenga ake ki Rangi-naonao-ariki ; ko Te Haeata i tae wawe ki te whakaatu kei te kake atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi, a Taka-wairangi. Ka haere a Kautu, a Tapuhi-kura, ki te paepae o te turuma o Tauru-rangi, ka tu mai a Kautu, a Tonganui-kaea, a Tapuhi-kura i reira Ka tae atu a Tane raua ko Taka-wairangi, haere tika raua ki te tu uma, ka purea, ka mutu te pure ka whakangaua ki te paepae o te turuma, ka mutu ka kawea ki roto o Tauru-rangi, ki reira whakahoro ai nga tapu o Papa-tuanuku nei. Ka tu ki runga ki te ahumairangi, ki te ahurewa tetahi ingoa ; ka mutu te whakahorohoro ka kawea ki te wai whakaruku ai, ka mutu ka ki atu a Tapuhi-kura, a Kautu : " Naumai, whanano (? whana ano) kaua hei whara ki te kai, ki te wai, tae noa mai koe ki konei rawa whakahoro ai nga tapu o runga na, katahi koe ka whara ki te kai, ki te wai.

Na, ka haere a Tama-i-waho ki te kawe i a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki te pumotomoto o Tikitiki-o-rangi, ka pahemo atu i te paetaku o Rangi-naonao-ariki, ka pokea a Tane-nui-a-Rangi e Tini-o-Pepetua, koia nei taua whanau akaaka :—

Te Whanau-punga	Te Whanau-takaahu	Te Whanau-papa
Te Whanau-roto	Te Whanau-peketua	Te Whanau-huru
Te Whanau-tuoi	Te Whanau-toropuku	Te Whanau-waewae-roroa
Te Whanau-peke	Te Whanau-rere	Te Whanau-waewae-rau
Te Whanau-pepe		

me etahi atu o taua whanau, he ngarara, he manu. Na Whiro-te-tipua i whakahau kia tikina kia whaia a Tane-nui-a-Rangi kia patua, kia paoa ranei, kia riro atu nga toto i a ia ; kore rawa i tata mai ki a Tane-nui-a-Rangi i te whanau a Tawhiri-matea, e taka tera me potaka kotore rua tera e whirou ana, te tata hoki te taua nei, te aha. Koia nei te ingoa o tenei pakanga ko Kopara-kore, ko Te Haemata ki etahi tohunga.

Ka tae a Tane ki te Pumotomoto, i reira a Ruatau, a Pawa, a Rehua, a Puhaorangi, a Ohomairangi, me te Tini o Houere-tu, o Houere-tau, o Houere-nuku, me era atu o o ratau ingoa whakahua. Ko to ratau whare ko Tawhiri-rangi, ko te tatau i te kauwhanga o te whare ko te Pumotomoto tera tatau, e ahu ana ki raro ki nga rangi ngahuru ma tahi, tae iho ki a Papa-tuanuku nei. Ko te whatitoka e puta ai ki te Toi-o-nga-rangi ko Tahurangi. Te urunga atu o Tane ki roto i Tawhiri-rangi, ka hoki a Tama-i-waho me te whanau puhi ki Tiritiri-o-Matangi whanga mai ai ki a Tane-nui-a-Rangi.

Ka uru atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki roto i Tawhiri-rangi, ka pokaia te koroputa i raro iho o te tahu o Tawhiri-rangi, hei putanga mo Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki roto ki te Toi-o-nga-rangi. Ka puta a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki roto o Tikitiki-o-rangi, ka kawea e nga whatukura ki te Moana-i-Orongo ki reira whakaruku ai, ka mutu, ka purea e Ohomairangi, e Puhaorangi, e Ruatau, me era atu o nga whatukura, ka mutu, ka kawea a Tane-nui-a-Rangi ki Matangi-i-reia, i reira a Io e noho ana. Ka ui mai a Io : " Ko koe anake to tira ? " Ka mea atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi : " Kei te kake ake ano taku tuakana, a Whiro-te-tipua, ma te taepatanga o nga rangi."

Ka mea atu a Io : " E kore to tuakana e kake ake, kei te tarahau nga puhi o Tiritiri-o-Matangi." Ka ui atu a Io : " He aha te take i kitea mai ai koe ? "

Ka mea atu a Tane-nui-a-Rangi : " Ko te kete o nga wananga me nga whatukura o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku kia riro i au."

Ka mea atu a Io : " Haere taua ki roto i te Rauroha, kei reira nga whatukura, nga mareikura."

Ka tae a Io me Tane-nui-a-Rangi, ka kawea ki te ahurewa pure ai, ka riro enei ingoa i a Tane-nui-a-Rangi i te wa i purea ai e Ohomairangi, e Puhaorangi i te Moana-i-Orongo, tae mai nei ki roto i Te Rauroha ka tutuki nga ingoa mo Tane-nui-a-Rangi i konei—

Tane-nui-a-Rangi	Tane-te-wananga	Tane-uetika
Tane-matua	Tane-torokaha	Tane-te-whawhanga.
Tane-te-waiora		

me era atu ingoa maha noa atu o Tane-matua. Ko enei ingoa maha ona maku ano e tataku ake a tetahi takiwa ki a koutou.

Ka mutu ra te pure i a Tane-matua ka mauria ki roto i Rangiatea. Ko te whare tera i whata ai nga wananga o nga rangi ngahuru ma rua, o nga ra, o nga marama, o nga whetu o ia kauwhanga, o ia kauwhanga, o ia rangi, o ia rangi, i tona ahua, i tona ahua ano. Koia te take o aua ingoa maha o Io, o Tane-matua, me era atu whatukura, mareikura ranei.

Ka purea ano a Tane ki runga i te ahurewa o te whare o Rangiatea i te wa i takoto ai nga kete o te wananga, o nga whatukura hoki. Koia nga ingoa o nga wananga me nga kura :—

1. Te kete tuauri. 2. Te kete tuatea. 3. Te kete aronui.

Koia tenei nga kete o te wananga i homai ki a Tane-matua. Ko te kete tuauri, ko te kete tera o nga karakia mo nga whakahaere katoa e pa ana ki a Rangi-nui, ki a Papa-tuanuku, me te mana o nga mea katoa e hiahiatia ana kia mahia e te whanau a Papa-tuanuku.

Ko te kete tuatea, ko te kete tenei o te kino, ahakoa he aha te kino. Kei roto i tenei kete nga kino katoa e kitea ana, nga mea e mahia ana e te whanau, e Papa-tuanuku ranei, e Rangi-nui ranei, e te ra, e te marama, e nga whetu, e te hau, e te ua, e te wai, e te rakau, e te kowhatu, e nga mea katoa. Koia tera to ratau kete whakaari i a ratau mahi kino, te pakanga a te tangata, a nga atua, kei reira katoa e takoto ana.

Ko te kete aronui, ko te kete tenei o te aroha, o te maunga rongo, o te taketake e kiia nei ko te rongo taketake, me nga mahi pai katoa o te matauranga ki nga mahi e puta ai te pai ki te tangata, ki te whenua, ki te rakau, ki te wai, ki te oneone, ki nga taru, ki nga kai, ki nga kararehe, ki nga manu ranei, ki nga ika, ki nga ngarara, me era atu mea katoa e kitea ana e te tangata.

Na, ko nga whatukura e kiia ra, he kowhatu tapu aua kowhatu. Ka tu aua kowhatu i roto i te whare, kei te kauwhanga o te whare te tunga o aua kowhatu e rua. Ko tetahi kei te taha rawhiti o te poupou tuarongo o te whare e tu ana, ko tetahi kei te taha mauru e tu ana. Ko enei kowhatu he kowhatu mana ; me he mea ka purea te tangata me noho ia i runga i tetahi o aua kowhatu ; ina oti te whakaako te tangata ka whakangaua ia ki runga i taua kowhatu ; ka kiia tena tangata kua tino puta ia i te whakaakoranga i whakaakoria ai ia, ka tuturu hoki nga mana i whakaaetia kia riro i a ia. Ko enei kowhatu, he nui nga mana kei aua kowhatu ; e whakapiria ana e nga tohunga he kowhatu huka-a-tai, kara ranei, ki te taha o nga kowhatu pera, kia riro mai ai he mana ki aua kowhatu, katahi ka riro i nga taura e whakaputaia ana ki waho i te whare wananga. Kati, koia te take ka mahi te tangata i tona whare ka maka he kowhatu, he ngarara, he manu, he ika, he tangata tonu ranei, ka patu, ka maka hei whatu mo tona whare ake, engari na nga tangata i kukume kia pera, kaore i pera mai i te wa i a Tane-matua.

Na, ka haere mai nga whatukura ki te whakahoki mai i a Tane-te-wananga me te wananga, me nga whatu e rua. Ka heke iho ratau, ka tae mai ki Tiritiri-o-Matangi ka uru mai hoki te whanau a Tawhiri-matea, ka heke iho, ka tae mai ki Rangi-naonao-ariki ka whakaeketia e te taua a Whiro-te-tipua. Hei rua tenei mo nga whakaeke a taua ope taua nei ki te patu i a Tane-te-waiora. Katahi ka karangatia e Rehua ki te whanau matua a Huru-te-arangi, koia tenei o ratau ingoa :—

Te Hau puhi. Te Huka tarapuhi. Te Huka rere.

Ka apititia mai ki te whanau matangi hau awhiowhio a Tawhiri-matea raua ko Paraweranui ; ka mate taua taua i konei, ko etahi i mau herehere mai i a Tane, ka mauria mai ki a Papa-tuanuku nei noho ai ; koia tenei nga mea i riro mai :—

Pekapeka	Kakariki	Ro
Ruru	Moko kakariki	Purehurehu
Kea	Waeroa	Rango
Karearea	Namu poto	Weta
Kaka	Naonao	Kekerengu
Kakapo	Pepe	

me etahi ake o taua taua a Whiro-te-tipua. Ko te ingoa o aua matenga o te tuatahi ra tae mai ki tenei, koia tenei ko Tawhiri-rangi, ko Tawhiri-nuku, koia tenei nga ingoa o te pakanga tuatahi i hinga ai te taua a Whiro-te-tipua ; ko Te Rangi-kaupapa te pakanga o te hokinga mai nei o Tane-te-wananga. Kati, ka marama tenei.

Ka tae mai a Tane-matua ki a Rangi-nui nei, ka whakaarahia e Tane-matua ko Te Haupipi-o-te-rangi hei tohu ki te whanau a Papa-tuanuku. Ka kite a Tupai, a Uruao i te rangi e tuhi ana Te Pipipi-o-te-rangi, ka mohio a Tupai kua riro mai te wananga i a Tane-matua. Ka tikina a Tauru-rangi, a Te Rangi-whakarara, nga pu tatara, ka whakatangihia aua pu tatara e rua, ka tae te rongo ki Tu-te-aniwaniwa, ki Wharau-rangi, ki Huaki-pouri, o te tangi o aua pu tatara e rua, ka mohiotia kua riro mai te wananga i a Tane-matua. Ka hui katoa te whanau nei ki Tauru-rangi tatari ai ki te taenga mai o Tane-matua. Ka tae mai a Tane-matua, tika tonu ki runga ki te turuma o Wharau-rangi, ka oti te pure nga kete o te wananga, o nga whatu hoki, me Tane-matua, e nga whatukura. Ka mea a Ruatau ki a Tupai : " Mauria nga kete o te wananga me nga kowhatu whatukura e rua ki roto o Whare-kura. Ko koe anake hei tomo ki roto, me tau i whakarite ai hei hoa mohou. Kia mahara, ngahuru ma rua nga rangi, ngahuru ma rua nga kaupeka o te tau, ngahuru ma rua nga apa

whatukura o nga rangi, ngahuru ma rua nga apa tamawahine o nga rangi ngahuru ma rua, kia ngahuru ma rua hoki nga hoa mou ki roto i Whare-kura. Ma korua ko Tane-te-wananga e pure hei poutiriao mo Whare-kura nei ; ko korua ano hei marua." Ka mutu nga kupu a Ruatau, ka hoki nga whatukura o te Toi-o-nga-rangi.

Ka mea a Whiro-te-tipua kia riro i a ia te wananga ki Tu-te-aniwaniwa ki reira whata ai ; kaore te whanau a Papa i whakaae. Ka kaha te tautohe a Whiro-te-tipua kia riro i a ia, ka pataia ki a Tane-matua mehemea e whakaae ana ia kia peratia te wananga. Ka mea a Tane-matua kaore ia e whakaae ; ka riri a Whiro-te-tipua. Ka mea a Tane-matua : " Kaore au e whakaae, kua nui rawa te kaupapa o te kino i puta mai i a koe. Ko Uruao, tenei mate nau ; ko Te Paerangi, tena mate nau ; ko ahau tenei i whaia ake nei e koe kia mate, a kua takoto to tataku kia patua matau e koe mo te wehenga i a Rangi-nui, i a Papa-tuanuku, me to poroporohanga i nga waewae konui o Rangi, me te poroporohanga i nga peke, me te patunga i a Kaupeka, me te rironga ko maua ko Tupai i purea ki runga o Maunganui, me te rironga maku e tiki i te wananga, no reira kaore i riro i a koe te wananga." Ka hoki a Whiro ki Tu-te-aniwaniwa noho ai.

Ka mea mai a Uru-te-ngangana ki a Tane : " Ko nga whatu e tuku mai ki roto i Tu-te-aniwaniwa whata ai." Ka whakaaetia e Tane-matua te tono a tona tuakana, i te mea he nui te pai o tona tuakana ki a ia, ara ki a ratau.

Ka haere te ropu i wehea mo roto i Whare-kura, koia tenei ratau :—

Tupai	Rua-taumata	Rauru-matua
Raka-maomao	Rongo-maraeroa	Tukapua
Tane	Punaweko	Te Mamaru
Tuamatua	Rongo-whakaata	

Koia tenei te ropu whatukura nana i kawe te kete o nga whatukura nei ki roto ki Tu-te-aniwaniwa whata ai. Ka tae atu ratau, ka oti te whakawhata, katahi a Whiro ka karanga mai ki nga poutiriao o roto o Whare-kura : " E Tane ma ! Haere, e hoki, mo te tikina atu e au o koutou upoko mo te tukituki ki te patu tawaka." (Ara he penei te patu tawaka, e wha nga pewa, he koi a mua. Ko te whakahaere o tenei rakau he ta, he wero ki nga kaokao, ki te morenga o te poho ranei. Na Whiro anake ratau ko ona hoa tena rakau. Na Tu-matauenga te rakau te onewa me te tokotoko, e rua nga mata taraiwi pakake, he tara no te whai, te potiki a Te Arawaru. I noho a Te Arawaru i a Raupara, ka puta ko te ihe, ko te rerehau, ko te kaikapo, ko te whai, me etahi atu. Ko kaikapo i rite ki te kuri, engari he whakahara, kei uta etahi wa ona, kei te moana etahi wa, kei nga roto etahi wa. Ko Te Kiri-tuarangi tetahi ingoa o kaikapo, i te pongare o te ihu te tara o tera.)

Na, i tenei wa ka tangohia e Whiro te wahine a tona tuakana, a Iriiripua ; he wahine atua tenei no Rangi-tamaku. Ka tipu tenei hei mea kino i waenganui i a Uru-te-ngangana ratou ko te whanau nei, apiti atu ki tona kohuru i Te Paerangi i kiia ake ra. Ko te hara puremu tuatahi tenei i waenganui i te whanau nei. Katahi ka haere mai a Uru ki Wharau-rangi, ki te kainga i a Tangaroa ratau ko nga taina, ka whakahaerea te korero kia whawhaitia a Whiro-te-tipua i konei. Ka mea etahi o te whanau nei me waiho atu ma Whiro e whakataratara mai te pakanga. Ka mea a Tane-matua : " Ata waiho tena whakaaro kia poua e tatau nga poutiriao ki nga tupaki o te kauwhanga o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku e hora nei." Ka whakaae nga tuakana ; koia tenei aua poutiriao i poua nei.

IV.—KO NGA POUTIRIAO.

Ko nga poutiriao tenei i purea hei tiaki, hei whakahaere i te aho rangi, i te aho waitau o Rarohenga, ahakoa ahu mai i te tonga paraweranui, i te mauru tahu makaka nui ranei, i te rawhiti maruanuku ranei, i te hau marangai ranei. Ko te putahitanga o enei hau e wha me nga wairua o te whanau a Rangi raua ko Papa-tuanuku, koia tera te putahitanga mo ratau e wehe ai nga mea e whakaaro ana, e aroha ana ki nga rangi tuhaha, a e wehe ai nga mea e aroha ana ki to ratau whaea ki a Papa-tuanuku, ka heke enei ki te Muriwai hou ki Rarohenga :—

Nga Poutiriao.

1. Ko Te Kuwatawata, ko Hurumanu, ko Tauru-rangi, ka mutu ratau i poua ki Te Hono-i-wairua, koia nei a Te Hono-i-wairua e whakataukitia ra. Ko te ingoa nui o tenei wahi ko Hawaiki-rangi tetahi ingoa, ko Hawaiki-nui tetahi ingoa, ko Hawaiki-whakaeroero tetahi ingoa ; ko te ingoa iti ko Poutere-rangi. Ko te wahi ake i tu ai taua whare ko Te Rake-pohutukawa, e kiia ana kei runga kei te tihi o Maungaharo, ki etahi, o Manono ki etahi. Ka takoto ki konei a Rua-te-hohonu, a Rua-te-wareware, a Rua-momotu-herepi, a Rua-aupo, a Te Angi-tahimutu, a Tahu-maikiroa, a Tahu-whakaeroero.

2. Ko nga poutiriao i purea mo te aroaro, mo te tuara o Rangi-nui, koia tenei : Ko Uru-te-ngangana, ko Roiho, ko Roake, kei enei katoa e tauhere mai ana a te ra kura, a te marama i whanake, me nga whetu tauhere o nga kauwhanga o nga rangi tuhaha, o nga rangi ngahuru ma tahi, ratau ko

te ropu apa whatukura, apa tahurangi, apa matangi nui, apa rahui kura, apa rehuroa, apa poporokewa, apa rauroha, apa tarapuhi, apa tuakiaki, apa tahupara, apa tautangiao, koia nei o ratau matamua ki te tauhere i era i nga rangi katoa, apiti atu ki nga whetu taki i te wairoa (waiora?) o nga kauwhanga me nga whetu o te Ikaroa o nga rangi.

3. Ko nga poutiriao mo waho mo nga tupaki o Hine-moana hei pupuri i te aho o taheke nui, o taheke roa, o te au kume, o te au rona, o te au whakapuke, o te au tutaratahi, o te au miro, o te au whakawhana, o te au puhoro, o te au miti, ka mutu aua au whakawhana o Hine-moana—koia nei ratau nga poutiriao: Ko Kiwa, ko Tangaroa-whakamau-tai, ko Kaukau, ka mutu ratau. No muri mai i enei ka haere atu a Takaaho, a Te Pu-whakahara kia whai tikanga mo a raua na whanau, koia tenei:—

Te mango paru	Te mango takapane	Te mango tahapounamu
Te mango urerua	Te mango makomako	Te mango niho tara
Te mango ururoa		

me era atu mango, me te kauika pakake o te wehenga kauki o Tutara-kauika, o Upokohue, ko enei i tataitia hei noho i nga moana o uta nei, kaore i pai, tohe ana kia waiho ratau i waho i tupaki nui o Hine-moana. Ka mutu tenei.

4. Ko nga poutiriao koia nei ratau i purea ai hei tatai i te haere a nga hau, a te huka, a te ua, a nga kapua, a te kohu, a te uira, a te whaitiri, koi taupatupatu nei ki a ratau, koi tahuri ratau ki a Papa hanga kino ai i te aoturoa: Ko Tukapua, ko Te Ihorangi, ko Tama-te-uira, ka mutu ratau i tenei kauwhanga o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku, e tauhere ana i te ahurangi o taua kauwhanga.

5. Ko nga poutiriao tenei i purea hei pupuri i te aho o te pakanga a Maiki-roa, a Maiki-arohea, a Maiki-kopeke, a Maiki-whekaro, a Maiki-tuturi, a Maiki-pepeke, a Maiki-kaupo, a Maiki-kawheau: Ko Tu-matauenga, ko Tumata-kaka, ko Te Akaaka-matua. He mea apiti atu enei hei hoa: Tumata-rauwiri, Tumata-huki, Uepoto, ka mutu ratau i tenei aho.

6. Ko nga poutiriao tenei i purea hei tauwehe i te Orongonui, i te takurua, koi kumea hei raumati anake, hei makariri anake: Ko Te Ikaroa, ko Rongomai-taharangi, ko Rongomai-tahanui. Ka mutu enei.

7. Ko nga poutiriao tenei i purea hei pupuri i te whakaaro tukino, taupatupatu, o te haere o te whanau a Kiwa, a Tangaroa-whakamau-tai, me era atu o ratau: Ko Rongomai-tu-waho, ko Tiwhanui, ko Mauhi, koia nei ratau i wehea mo tera kaupeka o ta ratau mahi.

8. Ko nga poutiriao i purea hei pupuri i te aho o te wananga o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku, tae atu ki te muriwai hou ki Rarohenga, te ahua o ta raua whanau i poua nei ki nga wahi i poua ai ratau me a ratau mahi whakahaere, me te ora o nga mea katoa, me te mate o nga mea katoa: Ko Taka-urunga; ko Kekerewai, ko Takatua, ka mutu ratau i wehea mo tera kaupeka o ta ratau mahi.

9. Ko nga poutiriao i purea hei pupuri i nga aho whakatakoto o nga mahi i poua ai ratau, koi tapeka ratau me a ratau whakahaere i runga i a etahi, koi tipu ake he kakano o te whakapehapeha o ratau ki etahi o ratau, koi haoa mai ranei te wehenga ma etahi o ratau, ahakoa i te angi, i te kauwhanga i a Papa ranei, i te wai ranei, i Rarohenga ranei, koia tenei ratau: Ko Tane-matua, ko Ngangana-a-rangi, ko Turamarama-a-nuku. Enei e tomo ana ki roto i nga poutiriao kua whakaturia nei ki nga tupaki o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku, o Rarohenga, a ko enei ano nga kaituku i te ahua o nga mahi a nga poutiriao ki te aroaro o nga whatukura o te Toi-o-nga-rangi ko reira takapautia ai ki roto o Kautenganui, ki te aroaro o Io-matangaro.

10. Ko nga poutiriao i purea hei pupuri i te kaupeka o Punihoniho-o-tau, koi huawai, koi piango, koi hukahuka, koi repehina, koi titotama, koi koero, koi pukutenga, koi whatu maro te ahua o te tipu o nga rakau, o nga otaota o te whenua, o te wai; koi pukupa nga ika, nga ngarara, nga mea katoa e whakahaerea ana i te ao nei, koia nei ratau: Ko Tane-te-hokahoka, ko Tanga-i-waho, ko Rongo-maraeroa, ka mutu ratau i poua mo tera wahanga o ta ratau mahi.

11. Ko nga poutiriao i purea hei tiaki i nga mana o nga tapu i nga tuahu, i nga ahurewa, i nga atua o te rongo taketake, i nga atua whiro e whakatahi ana; nga whakahaere kua horahia ki nga poutiriao o Rangi-nui, o Papa-tuanuku, hei tiakiaki i nga wananga, i nga karakia mihi, tono ranei, whakaae ranei, whakahe ranei, whakahangai ranei te tu, te haere, te takoto ranei, tautoko ranei i nga mea i kiia kia peratia, a nga apa ranei e uru ana mai ki roto i te kauwhanga o Rangi, o Papa, koia tenei aua poutiriao: Ko Tane-te-wananga, ko Tupai-whakarongo-wananga, ko Rongo-maraeroa.

V.—HINE-AHU-ONE.

He taha atua tetahi taha ona, he taha whenua tetahi taha. No te huinga o te taha atua me te taha whenua, katahi ka kiia he tangata; i timata mai tenei ingoa i a Hine-ahu-one. I konei ka hono te wairua o nga tamariki atua ki nga tamariki tangata, tae noa mai ki tenei ra i a tatau nei. Kei te tane te purapura, kei te wahine te papa hei whakaahuru. Ko te kakano a te atua kei te tane, notemea he uri atua ia. Ko te wahine no Papa-tuanuku, kei a ia te puni o te wai; ko te toto me te hau na te atua enei. Ko te kaiwhakaahuru ko te wahine, e tipu ai nga mea katoa. He tauira hoki te wahine na te tane; na Io-matangaro te purapura.

VI.—TE WHANAUTANGA O HINE-RAU-WHARANGI.

Ka whanau a Hine-rau-wharangi i te Aonui o te Orongonui o te tau ; ka kawea te whaea ki roto i Hui-te-ananui noho ai, me tona tamahine. No te whakatarepatanga i te iho o tona tamahine kahurangi, ka whakaputaia mai ki waho o te whare, ki te roro o taua whare, ki runga i nga takapau wharanui raua ko tona whaea noho ai. Ka whakatata atu te maru iwi, te maru tangata ki te marae o Hui-te-ananui. Ka tu a Tupai, taina o Tane, i a ia hoki te ipu tapu, ka mau nga ringa ki te tamaiti, ka okookotia ki roto i ona ringa ; koia tenei tona karakia :—

Naumai, e hine wai roto
Whakaea, whakaea to uru tapu
Whakaea, whakaea to uru waiora ki taiao nei
E tipu, e rea, e hine kahurangi ariki
Whakamau tai, whakamau o rongo
Whakamau taketake toitu ki tahito nei
E hine ariki rangi, e !
E tipu, e rea koe he whatu ioio nui
He whatu io matua, he io taketake ki taiao nei
E Hine-rau-wharangi, e.

Ka tu nga tangata ki te maioha ki a Hine-titama me Hine-rau-wharangi i konei. Ka mutu te maioha, katahi ka mauria te whariki wharanui, ka horahia ki te pareparenga o te awa wai takoto ai. Ka hiki a Hine-titama raua ko Hine-rau-wharangi ki runga noho ai, ka heke te tohunga ki roto i te wai tu ai, kia to nga hope te wai, ka mau ai ki a Hine-rau-wharangi. Katahi ka tohia ki te tohi ururangi o te toi huarewa o Tikitiki-o-rangi. Kaore i mau i au te karakia tohi i konei ; ma Te Matorohanga ma e karakia mai ki a koe.

Na, ka tokorima nga tamariki a Hine-titama, he wahine anake. Ka tae ki tetahi po ka ui atu te wahine nei ki a Tane-matua : " E koro ! Ko wai toku nei matua ? " Ka mea atu a Tane-matua : " Ui atu ki nga poupou o Hui-te-ananui, mana e whaki mai ki a koe to papa." Katahi a Hine-titama ka ata whakaaro, ka marama i a ia ; katahi ka ki atu : " E koro ! Katahi ra au ka marama, ko koe tonu ia, e taku papa, e whakawairangi nei i au. Ko wai hoki hei tamaiti, hei matua i wahinetia ai e to karihi. Kati, ka penatia na e koe, ko te waro i au nei hei waro ki roto o Poutere-rangi, kia takoto ai a Tahekeroa i roto o Poutere-rangi ki te aroaro o taku tipuna, o Papa-tuanuku. Maku e titiro mai i te Muriwai-hou ki a koutou ko a taua tamariki e whakaangi ake ana ki au."

Ka takoto te ara o te mate i konei i a Hine-titama ki te Reinga, koia i aranga ai taua ara a Tahekeroa ko Hawaiki, ara ko te wahi tera i ikia ai tenei hanga te tangata ki te Po tiwha herehere haua.

VII.—NGA INGOA O IO.

Etahi nei au ka korero ake ki a koe ; kaore tonu au e korero ana ki te tangata i aku i rongo ai au. He mea tapu te whakahuahua i a Io me nga apa o nga rangi, me o ratau kauwhanga. He mea tapu hoki te whakahua i nga tamariki a Rangi-nui raua ko Papa-tuanuku e takoto nei, he tapu rawa. Ma nga tohunga o nga tuahu, o nga ahurewa era e whakahuahua, he tapu hoki ratau. No te Whakapono nei katahi ka korero noa te ware penei me maua nei ko Rihari Tohi nei. Kei roto anake i te whare wananga era tu korero korero ai, he tapu hoki. No te noanga nei o nga tangata ka tomotomo ki roto i nga whare kai a te pakeha, na konei ka ngaro te mana o te whare wananga o nga kaumatua e whakaheke ki te Po te whaia.

Ko nga ingoa o Io i rongo au nei koia enei. Koi mea mai koe he whakapeka naku ki nga korero a to tuakana, a Te Matorohanga, koia na te tino tamaiti o roto o aua tu whare o te wananga. He tino tangata tapu tena tangata, he mea whangai anake ki te titoko rakau e te tuahine, e Hine-te-aparangi, i mate ki Kaupeka-hinga i te taua a Kaiwaru o Ngai-Toroiwaho, o Ngati-Parakiore. Kati enei kupu aku ki a koe.

Io. Koia te io o nga atua katoa, kaore i ko atu.

Io-nui. He nui ia i nga atua katoa.

Io-roa. He ora tuturu tona, kaore he mate.

Io-matua. Koia te matua o nga rangi, o nga kauwhanga, o nga ao, o nga kapua, o nga ngarara, o nga manu, o nga kiore, o nga ika, o nga marama, o nga whetu, o nga uira, o nga hau, o nga wai, o nga rakau, o nga otaota katoa i te tuawhenua, i te moana, i nga wai, me era atu mea katoa. Kaore he mea i puta ki waho i a Io-matua, koia te matua o nga mea katoa, o te tangata, o nga atua i raro iho i a ia ; koia katoa te matua.

Io-matua-te-kore. Tenei ingoa ona e whakaatu ana kaore ona matua, ona whaea, ona tuakana, ona taina, ona tuahine, koia anake ia.

Io-taketake. Tenei ingoa ona e tuturu ana ia me ana mahi katoa, me ana mahara, me ana whakahaere he tuturu katoa, he u katoa, he oti katoa, he mau katoa.

Io-te-pukenga. Koia te pukenga o nga mahara katoa a nga mea katoa i whakaarotia e ia kia whai ahua, kia whai tipu, kia whai ora, kia whai mahara, kia whai kaha, kaore i ko atu i a ia, nana anake, a mana anake e whiwhi ai, e kore ai ranei.

Io-te-wananga. Ara koia te wananga o nga mea katoa, ahakoa mo te ora, mo te mate ranei, mo te kino ranei, mo te pai ranei, mo te riri ranei, mo te kore ranei, mo te mau o te rongo ranei, mo te kore ranei e mau e rongo; kaore i ko atu i a ia.

Io-te-toi-o-nga-rangi. Tenei e whakaatu ana koia te atua o roto o te mutunga mai o nga rangi katoa, kaore he rangi i ko atu i taua rangi e kiia ra ko te Toi-o-nga-rangi. Ko te tuatahi tonu tera o nga rangi, ka heke iho ki nga rangi ngahuru ma tahi i raro iho i te Toi-o-nga-rangi.

Io-matanui. Tenei kaore he wahi e ngaro ana i ana whatu, i ana mahara, ahakoa i nga rangi, i nga kauwhanga, i nga ao, i nga wai, nga hohonu ranei o nga takere o nga wai, o nga ao, o nga kapua, kai te whaiti katoa nga mea katoa ki roto i ona whatu.

Io-matangaro. Tenei kaore ia e kitea e nga mea katoa i roto i nga rangi, i nga ao, i nga kauwhanga o nga rangi, o nga ao ranei. Ahakoa he aha te mea kaore ia e kitea, engari mana anake te whakaaro kia kitea ka kitea ai ia e tetahi mea. He ngaro ia i nga mea katoa o nga rangi, o nga kauwhanga o nga ao, o nga wai, o nga kapua, o nga otaota, o nga ngarara, o nga atua, o nga apa katoa, mana ano te whakaaro kia kite, ka kite ai i a ia.

Io-mataaho. Tona ahua ina haere ia he aho kau, kaore e ata kitea ana e nga mea katoa o nga rangi, o nga ao, o nga kauwhanga.

Io-te-whiwhia. Ko tenei kaore nga mea katoa e whiwhi i te aha, i te aha, nana anake te whakaaro kia whiwhi, kia kore ranei, ahakoa he aha te mea, he tangata ranei, he atua ranei, he ao ranei, he rangi ranei, he kauwhanga ranei, he marama ranei, he ra ranei, he whetu ranei, he wai ranei, he hau ranei, he ua ranei.

Io-urutapu. He tapu i nga atua katoa, i nga mea katoa o nga rangi, o nga ao, o nga kauwhanga, o te ra, o te marama, o nga whetu, o nga wai, o nga hohonu ranei.

Koia nei te ahua o ona ingoa nei ki te korero a nga tangata o te whare wananga.

VIII.—KO UENUKU-RANGI.

He atua no Tamatea-nui a Uenuku-rangi. Na, i tetahi wa ka tahuri a Tamatea ki te ai i tana wahine, i a Ihu-parapara. Ka ui iho a Tamatea: "E kui! He aha ta to remu e whawhati na?"

Ka mea atu a Ihu-parapara: "E koro! He moe reinga naku, ko koe tonu, e moe ana taua, e tahakura ana koe ki au." He pera tonu te mahi, a tae noa ki tetahi wa ka haere a Tamatea i tetahi haere ana ki Whanga-ra, ka hori atu, ka noho te wahine ra i roto o Tawhiri-rangi, i Titirangi, e whatuwhatu ana. Ka tiro atu te wahine nei, e haere mai ana a Tamatea i te marae. Ka mea atu te wahine ra: "Ka hoki tonu mai koe?"

Ka mea atu te tangata ra: "Takoto taua ki te ai."

Ka mutu ta raua ai, ka puta atu ma te matapihi puta ai ki waho. Ka titiro atu te wahine nei, e haere ana, nawai ra i pa nga waewae ki te whenua kua maiangi haere tonu atu ki te rangi. Ka hoki mai a Tamatea, ka korerotia atu, ka mohiotia, ara ko Uenuku-rangi.

E hapu ana a Iwi-pupu, ka hapu hoki a Ihu-parapara, ka whanau mai ta Ihu-parapara, i whakatahe toto te hapu, kua ahua tangata rawa. Ka mea atu a Ihu-parapara: "Kua whakatahe taku kopu, he wahine." Ka mauria e Tamatea-ariki ki te tuahu takoto ai, ka haere ki te tiki i te tipuna, i a Koko, hei karakia, ka kawe ai ki roto i te toma takoto ai, he ana, ko Irihia te ingoa. Ka tae mai a Tamatea-nui kua kore taua whakatahe.

I muri noa mai ka whanau a Kahungunu; ka meatia te umu tuatanga i a Kahungunu. I runga a Tamatea-nui, a Koko, a Ruawharo, a Te Rongo-patahi i te tuahu e mahi ana i a Kahungunu, ka puta mai tetahi tamaiti kotiro, kua pakeketia te ahua, ka haere mai, ka piki mai ma te matapihi, i reira te moenga o Tamatea-ariki. Ka mea atu a Ihu-parapara: "He aha koe i piki mai ai ma te matapihi takatakahi mai i te moenga o Tamatea; na wai rawa koe?"

Ka mea atu te tamaiti: "Nau ra au."

"Ihi! Nau tito!"

Ka mea atu ano te tamaiti: "Nau tonu au; i kawea ra e korua ko Tamatea au ki runga i te tuahu whakarere ai."

Katahi a Ihu-parapara ka mohio, e koia ano ia ko taku tahe toto pea. Ka mea a Ihu-parapara: "A, na wai koe i tiki mai, i mau atu i te tuahu?"

Ka mea te tamaiti: "Na taku papa ano, na Uenuku-rangi."

"A, i mauria koe ki whea?"

"Ki waho ki Tuahiwi o Hine-moana, ki te tini Petipeti, ki te tini o Waihekura, o Waihengana, o Waihematua, i te au tinitini, i te au tata o Mawhera i waho."

Katahi ano a Ihu-parapara ka karanga atu kia Tamatea-nui: "E koro! Haere mai! Tenei taku kotiro i whakatahe ra kei ro whare e noho ana."

Katahi ka haere atu, e noho ana i runga i te moenga o Tamatea-nui. Ka ui atu a Tamatea-nui: "Na wai koe?"

" Na Uenuku-rangi ; na Tamatea-ariki-nui, na Ihu-parapara au i waiho i te tuahu ; na Uenuku-rangi i kawe ki Tuahiwi nui o Hine-moana, ki tini o te Petipeti, o Waihekura, o Waihengana, o Waihematua, i te au tinitini, i te au tata o Mawhera i waho."

Ka mau a Tamatea-nui ki te ringa, ka arahina ki te tuahu, ka purea, ka kawea ki te wai tohi ai ko Uenuku-titi. Ka tau a Uenuku-rangi ki te tuahu i konei, ka riro te umu tuatanga o Kahungunu ma Uenuku-titi e kai.

Ka marama i a koe koia nei tetahi o nga hekenga atua ki te ao nei ; ko Rongokako tetahi, i heke iho i a Maui ma ra ; ka marama mai koe. Ka heke iho i a Uru-te-ngangana ra tae mai ki a Tamatea, i a Roiho tae mai ki a Tamatea. He hekenga atua katoa enei nona. He tangata nui a Tamatea-ariki-nui, he tino ariki tena tangata i runga i te mana ariki, i te tapu, i te mana tangata, i te mana atua, pau katoa i a ia nga mana.

IX.—KO NGA ATUA O TAKITIMU.

Ko nga atua i tikina e Te Rongo-patahi i roto i Te Kohurau, he ana tenei, koia tenei : Kahukura, Rongomai, Tunui-o-te-ika, Tama-i-waho, Ruamano, Hine-korako, Tuhinapo. I te haerenga o Te Rongo-patahi, o Ruawharo, o Tupai, o Kohupara, koia nei nga tohunga tuahu, ahurewa, i haere ki te tiki, i mua ake o te haerenga kua takoto a Takitimu te kei ki runga i te turuma o Titirangi, o te pa o Tamatea i Whangara. Te take i peratia ai kia eke a Kahukura ki runga i a Takitimu.

Ka mauria nga taha e whitu hei nohoanga mo nga atua nei ; ko nga taha nei he taha rakau, he mea tarai a roto, a waho. E rua nga taha, kia oti ra te tarai katahi ka whakaawhitia, ka houhia, ka pania ki te ware pia rakau te wahi i houhia ai ; ka mutu ka pania ki te horu a waho anake ; katahi ka komotia te taupoki. He penei te ahua o te taha me te ahua o te hohou o taua tu taha atua o te haerenga mai i Hawaiki ki pae whenua ki Aotea-roa nei. Hei nga po ka tutaki nga taha nei, kei nga awatea purata te rangi ka huakina aua taha nei, kia putaputa ake nga atua nei ki runga i te kauwhata ; e whitu ano nga kauwhata mo aua atua nei.

Ko nga tangata tuturu mana e mahi aua atua nei ko Te Rongo-patahi, ko Ruawharo, ko Tupai, ko Kohupara, ko Kaewa, ko Puhi-whanake, ko Mokinokino, ko Whatuira, ka mutu ratau. I aua tohunga nei te taumanu o te kei o Takitimu ; te take i riro ai mo nga atua nei, tetahi take mo Kohupara raua ko Tupai, taina o Ruawharo ; he tangata pukenga enei ki te whakatere waka haere moana. No Tawhiti-roa mai to raua mohiotanga ki taua mahi. Koia nei nga take i riro ai te taumanu o te kei i a ratau ; e rua hoki nga taumanu i a ratau, ko nga taumanu i raro mai i a Tamatea-ariki era taumanu e rua.

Ko Kaewa, he kaimau tenei no te ahi atua, no te kaunoti me te hika o te kaunoti ; ko taua kaunoti me te hika puaroa i tapaia ki taua whetu. Te take i tapaia ai ki a Puaroa, he whetu tapu tera, he whetu ariki—he whetu whakapua te au pukohu, e kiia ana he hiku makohu rangi tetahi ingoa, na reira i tapaia ai ki taua whetu, mo te tu o te auahi o taua kaunoti.

Na, ko Puhi-whanake me Whatuira, enei tangata he tangata whakahaere i nga whetu o te rangi, hei titiro i te tupuhi, i te paki ranei, hei titiro i te marama, i te ra hoki, kia maro ai te takoto o te ihu o te waka ki te wa o te ihu whenua. Ko te mahi tenei a ena tangata tokorua, he ara i te po ao noa te ra ; hei te awatea ka moe ai raua ; koia nei ta raua mahi.

Na, ko Kohupara, ko Tupai, he tiaki i nga atua nei, koi oma etahi o ratau ; he tutakitaki i nga waha o nga taha nei i noho ai ratau, he huaki i nga awatea, haunga nga wa e whakaarotia ana kia tukua kia haere i waho, kei a raua anake te ritenga o tera mahi.

Na, ko Mokinokino he tangata mau kai, tiaki kai whangai i nga tohunga katoa i kiia ake nei e au, koia tenei nga tohunga hei whangai mana i nga wa katoa e rere ana a Takitimu i te moana. Ko te punga (? putunga) o nga kai ko te puneke o te ihu o te waka.

Na, ko Te Rongo-patahi raua ko Ruawharo, ko nga tohunga tena hei tuku i nga atua kia haere ki te mahi i te mea i hiahiatia kia mahia e tetahi o aua atua, e aua atua ranei. Na, e pena ana to ratau turanga i runga i o ratau atua katoa.

X.—TOHUNGA MATAKITE.

(Initiation Ceremony over a Matakite.)

Ka moe te tangata, tana moemoea kua kite ia i te wairua o tona papa ranei, tona tipuna ranei, o tana tamaiti ranei. Mehemea taua tamaiti, aha ranei, he tamaiti i puta tetahi matauranga nui, a i pa he pouri ki a ia, me era atu tangata, mo te matenga o taua tangata, ki te pirangi taua tangata ki te hoki mai taua wairua ki a ia, ka haere ia ki te tohunga tuahu, ki te tohunga ahurewa ranei, kaore ki etahi atu. Ka tono ia kia whakahokia mai te wairua i kitea ra e ia, hai awhina i a ia. Ka tae ia ki te tohunga, ko te kupu tonu a te tohunga ki a ia—" Ae," a " Kaore " ranei. Mehemea " ae," ka ki atu ia : " Haere ; hopukia te manu, he miromiro ranei, he tatahore ranei, engari kia mau ora." Ka haere taua tangata ; ki te mau i a ia taua manu, ka whiwhi ia ; ki te

kore e mau i a ia, e kore ia e whiwhi (ara i taua ra ano), ara me hopu te manu i taua ra tonu. Ki te mau taua manu, ka mau ki runga ki te tuahu a te tohunga. (Me mau te manu i mua atu i te puaotanga o te ata.) Ka meatia te manu ki roto ki te kete, taha tapu ranei, ka waiho ki te tuahu. Ka kawea te tangata e te tohunga ki te wai pure ai. Ka heke te tohunga ki roto ki te wai, ko te kirikau anake; ka heke hoki taua tangata pera ano, ko te kirikau anake. Me haere ia ma te taha katau o te tohunga, ka huri ia i muri o te tuara ki te taha maui. Katahi te tohunga ka karakia i a ia. Ko te karakia he karakia whakahoro i nga raruraru o te tinana katoa i runga i a ia, mai i tona tamarikitanga tae mai ki a ia e tu nei. Ka pataia tenei patai ki a ia—"He whiro ranei koe, he ahurangi ranei?" Ka whakautua pea e te tangata he ahurangi ia. "He ahurangi tenei tama nau." He matakite hoki te tohunga.

Mehemea ka korero parau te tangata, ka huna i tana mahi kino, tahae, aha ranei, makutu ranei, ka kitea e te tohunga. Mehemea he kohuru, ka patai atu te tohunga—"He aha te take o Mea i mate ai?" Mehemea ka kitea e te tohunga he whiro te tangata nei, e hara i te ahurangi, ka panaia, a ka kino rawa te riri a te tohunga. Mehemea ka kite te tohunga he tika taua ahurangi, ka whiwhi ia. Katahi ka toro te ringa maui o te tohunga ki te ringa katau o te tangata; ka mau hoki te ringa katau o te tohunga ki te ringa maui o te tangata; katahi ka karakia i tenei karakia:—

He ahurangi, E Io, E!
Tenei ka turuki atu
Kia turuki mai te ata a rangi o Mea*
Kia whakaupa ki tenei tama tamaua take nau, E Io-taketake
He koronga ka tu ki a koe
He koronga ka whano ki a koe
Kia uru tu, kia uru taketake ki tenei tama
He tama ahurangi nau, E Io, E!
Tawhia tamaua take ki tenei pia, ki tenei taura†
Na tenei tama kia mohunga, kia mohikutu
Tenei tauira ki marae nui, ki marae whakapau tangata
Ki a koe, E Io, E!

Ka mutu te karakia ka ki atu ki te tangata kia whakatotohu ki roto ki te wai; kai te mau tonu nga ringa. Katahi ka whakatotohu te tangata ra kia ngaro katoa ki roto ki te wai. Te eanga ake ki runga, katahi ka toro te ringa maui o te tohunga ki runga ki te matenga o te tangata. Katahi ka heke te ringa katau ki te wai, katahi ka ehua te wai ki runga:—

Tapihai nuku, tapihai rangi
Ki a koe, E Io-matua, E!
No tenei tama.

Ka mutu tenei karakia, ka ki atu te tohunga "Haere ki uta. Kauaka e uhu i te wai o te mahunga, o te tinana ranei, i runga i a koe." Katahi te tohunga ka ruku, ara kia tae te tangata ki uta, ka whakatotohu i a ia ki roto ki te wai; e whitu ona whakangaromanga ki roto ki te wai. Ka mutu, katahi ia ka hiki ki tahaki, katahi ka hoki raua ki te tuahu. Katahi ka tangohia mai te manu i roto i te taha, katahi ka mauria atu e te tohunga, ka ki atu ki te tangata kia whakaha ia ki runga ki te upoko o te manu. Ka toru nga whakaha e whakaha ana ia; ka mutu te whakaha katahi ka mauria te manu ki roto ki te whare, raua tahi ka haere. Ka tutakina raua ko te manu e te tohunga ki reira ki roto ki te whare. Ka tukuna te manu ki roto ki te whare rere ai. (No te atatu tonu ia i tae ki te tangata.)

Na, ka noho tonu te tangata ki roto ki taua whare, me te manu hoki. Ka hoki te tohunga ki runga ki te tuahu. Kia haramai te maramatanga o te atatu, ara ka aho mai te maramatanga o te atatu, ka huaki te tangata i te tatau o te whare, ka rere te manu, ka tukuna kia rere. Te putanga o te manu ra, katahi ka haere te tangata ki runga ki te tuahu ki te tohunga ra. Mehemea he miromiro taua manu, ka karanga mai te tohunga ki taua tangata—"Kua whano ranei a Miro?"—a tatahore ranei. Te whakautu a taua tangata. "Ae." Katahi ka ki atu te tohunga. "Tuturi," a ka tuturi te tangata ki tona aro e hangai tonu ana ki a ia ki te tohunga. Katahi ka pa iho nga ringa o te tohunga ki runga ki te matenga o te tangata, katahi ka karakia.

Ko te karakia kaore i riro mai.

Koinei te karakia e whiwhi ai te tangata i te matakite, ahakoa i te moemoea, ahakoa i a ia e ara ana.

* Na, ka whakahuatia te ingoa o te tangata nona te wairua i kitea ai i te moemoea. (Ata-a-rangi = wairua.)
† Taura = akonga.

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